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THE NORWEGIAN QUAKERS OF 1825

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THE story of Quakerism in Norway and the story of Norwegian immigration to America have been told more than once, each by its separate historians,¹ but they need to be dovetailed together. The following paper is an effort to make some combination between them, appropriate to the current centennial year of 1925.

The odyssey of the sloop Restaurationen has been rehearsed for three generations in Norwegian homes of the American Northwest, and several independent but consonant accounts

¹ The principal books available to me in English are the following: Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840), its Causes and Results*, Madison, Wis., 1895. The articles in the *American Scandinavian Review* mentioned in notes 5 and 28 are merely repetitions of parts of this book. Neither its later editions nor the author's anniversary articles from *Skandinaven*, collected as a book, *Cleang Peerson og Sluppen Restaurationen*, Chicago, [1925], represents any substantial fresh research during thirty years. O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*, Vols. I and II, second, revised edition, Minneapolis, Minn., 1900. K. C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. III, No. 3), Urbana, Ill., 1914. O. M. Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1925. On the Quaker side, George Richardson, *The Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, London, 1849; John Frederick Hanson, *Light and Shade from the Land of the Midnight Sun*, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1903; Barthinius L. Wick, 'Quakerism in Norway,' in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol. LXVII, 1894, pp. 258 f., 268 f.; and other literature referred to below. Albert J. Crosfield, 'The Rise and Progress of Friends in Norway,' in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 4 mo. 1894, reprinted in 1907 both in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol. LXXX, pp. 234 ff., and in the *American Friend*, pp. 244 ff. In Norwegian there are many books and articles not easily accessible to the general reader. Special mention should be made of a series of articles 'Norsk Landnam i U. S.,' by Gunnar Malmin in *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), beginning Nov. 14, 1924, from which some newly discovered data are quoted by the number of the instalment.

are in print.² Probably none is earlier or more authentic than the "True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner" by Ole Rynning. This man, himself a Norwegian of the next great tide of immigration, and his book, written in Illinois in 1837-38 and published in Christiania in 1838, are both of the greatest interest, but I proceed at once to quote from a recent English translation³ his story of the earliest party.

In 1821 a person by the name of Kleng Peerson from the county of Stavanger in Norway emigrated to New York in the United States. He made a short visit back to Norway in 1824 and, through his accounts of America, awakened in many the desire to go there. An emigration party consisting of fifty-two persons bought a little sloop for eighteen hundred speciedaler and loaded it with iron to go to New York. The skipper and mate themselves took part in this little speculation. They passed through the channel and came into a little outpost on the coast of England, where they began to sell whiskey, which is a forbidden article of sale at that place. When they found out what danger they had thereby incurred, they had to make to sea again in greatest haste. Either on account of the ignorance of the skipper or because of head winds they sailed as far south as the Madeira Islands. There they found a cask of madeira wine floating on the sea, which they hauled into the boat and from which they began to pump and drink. When the whole crew had become tipsy, the ship came drifting into the harbor like a plague-ship, without command, and without raising its flag. A man on a vessel from Bremen, which was lying in port, shouted to them that they must immediately hoist their flag if they did not wish to be fired upon by the cannons of the fortress, which, indeed, were already being aimed at them. Finally one of the passengers found the flag and had it raised. After this and other dangers they at length reached New York in the summer of 1825. In all, the voyage from Stavanger to America had taken fourteen weeks, which is the longest time I know any Norwegian to have been on the way. Nobody, however, had died on the sea, and all were well when they landed. It created universal surprise in New York that the Norwegians had ventured over the wide sea in so small a vessel, a feat hitherto unheard of. Either through ignorance or misunderstanding the ship had carried more passengers than the American laws permitted, and

² Anderson's account is based on interviews with at least eight members of the party; Wick's, p. 269, on the recollection of Ove Rosdal, a Friend. There is also extant the report of the Norwegian Consul General, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, VIII, 1924, pp. 77 ff. Oral tradition (as collected by R. B. Anderson) has required correction with the discovery of written records. Further errors may lurk undetected in the account that is given in the present article, so far as it rests on oral sources. The spelling of Norwegian names often varies and the manner of reference to persons. Here also is a fruitful seed of error.

³ Translated with introduction and notes by Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota History Bulletin*, II, 1917, pp. 221 ff. The quotation is from pp. 240-242.

therefore the skipper and the ship with its cargo were seized by the authorities. Now I can not say with certainty whether the government voluntarily dropped the matter in consideration of the ignorance and childlike conduct of our good countrymen, or whether the Quakers had already at this time interposed for them; all I am sure of is that the skipper was released, and the ship and its cargo were returned to their owners. They lost considerably by the sale of the same, however, which did not bring them more than four hundred dollars. The skipper and the mate settled in New York. Through contributions from the Quakers the others were enabled to go farther up into the country. Two Quakers in the company established themselves in Rochester. One of these, Lars Larson by name, lives there still. The others bought land in Murray, five miles northwest of Rochester. They had to give five dollars an acre, but, since they did not have money with which to liquidate the entire amount at once, they made arrangements to pay by installments within ten years. Each one bought forty acres. The land was thickly overgrown with woods and difficult to clear. Consequently, during the first four or five years conditions were very hard for these people. They often suffered great need, and wished themselves back in Norway; but they saw no possibility of getting there without giving up the last mite of their property, and they would not return as beggars. Well-to-do neighbors assisted them, however, and by their own industry they at last got their land in such condition that they could earn a living from it, and live better than in their old native land.

Further information concerning this voyage may be culled from other sources. Lars Larsen is the only 'sloop' mentioned by name, and by common consent he is regarded as the leader of the party. The names of the other fifty-one have been industriously collected with such information as could be recalled of them and their descendants.⁴ According to tradition the date of starting was, very appropriately, July 4, 1825, though contemporary newspaper reference suggests July 5. The landing in New York was on October 9th. The clearance papers at the custom-house at Stavanger have been found,⁵ and in the

⁴ Anderson, pp. 45-47, 64-66, 91-131; Norlie, pp. 122-135.

⁵ A facsimile from the Customs Book is published in the *American Scandinavian Review*, XIII, 1925, p. 353. It had been argued that the whole story was unhistorical since "the clearance records of Stavanger show no such name as the *Restauration*," Babcock, pp. 25 f., note 13. Another entry includes the information that the *Restaurationen*, when the cargo was loaded, drew only seven and a half feet of water. For the Norwegian newspaper referred to see below, p. 310 and Malmin II and the discussion between Anderson and Malmin, *ibid.* III and V. The statement in the American press, namely, arrival on October 9 after 98 days' voyage, if accurate, would fix the sailing on July 4 at the latest. Beside stopping at Madeira, the sloop is said to have sailed to New York by way of the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico (*Vestlandet*, Stavanger, Norway, Oct. 25, 1910, cited by Blegen) and via Long Island Sound (*Commercial Advertiser*, New York, Oct. 10, 1825, cited by Anderson).

American newspapers some extended account of the 'Novel Sight' of the arrival, as well as formal notices in the shipping news. The New York American, for example, on Monday evening, October 10, 1825, contains under "Marine Journal, Port of New York," the following item, "Arr. Danish sloop Restoration, Holland. 78 days from Norway via Long Island Sound, with iron to Boorman & Johnston, forty two passengers." Except that the sloop was neither Danish nor from Holland,⁶ and that the days should number 98 and the passengers 52, the item is substantially correct. Strictly speaking the passengers should number fifty-three, for to Lars Larsen and his wife was born, on September 2nd, their first child, Margaret Allen Larsen.

The smallness of the vessel, which subjected the captain to some inconvenience in New York harbor, is mentioned by Ole Rynning. It appears that a law of March 2, 1819, allowed only two passengers to each five tons,⁷ while the Restaurationen had more than twice its quota. This we see from the tonnage named in the following description of the ship and party in the New York Daily Advertiser of Wednesday, October 12, 1825.

The vessel is very small, measuring as we understand only about 360 Norwegian lasts or forty-five American tons. . . . Most of the passengers belong to families from the vicinity of a little town at the southwestern extremity of Norway, near Cape Stavanger. Those who came from the farms are dressed in coarse cloaths of domestic manufacture, of a fashion different from the American, but those who inhabited the town wear calicos, gingham, and gay shawls, imported, we presume, from England. The vessel is built on the model common to fishing boats on that coast, with a single mast and topsail, sloop-rigged.

For the earlier history of Lars Larsen, leader of the 'sloopers,' as they are called, we must turn elsewhere, and principally to

⁶ Malmin II ingeniously suggests that "Holland" in these notices is due to the fact that the skipper's name was, according to the marine records, L(ars) O(lson) Helland.

⁷ Babcock, p. 26 note 14. The smallness of the vessel chosen is perhaps explained by the advice which Cleng Peerson sent to the immigrants in a letter which they received while planning their voyage (see below, note 28): "I spoke with many persons in New York in regard to selling the vessel. You will certainly be able to dispose of a small ship, but the law forbids the sale of a large one." Norlie, p. 121, gives the length as 54 feet, tonnage as 38 or 40 tons. This tonnage is less than one quarter of that of the Santa Maria or of the Mayflower. On the size of the sloop see further the information

Quaker letters and journals. Lars Larsen Jeilane, to give him his full name, was born in Stavanger in Norway, September 24, 1787. He became a ship-carpenter and served on board a Norwegian merchant vessel. In 1807, while Denmark and Norway were at war with England, the ship in which he was employed was captured by the English, and he and the rest of the crew remained prisoners of war for seven years until after the Treaty of Kiel. It was among these prisoners that he met the Quakers, and from this time their records begin to throw light on his history. A survey of their experiences is given by Stephen Grellet, that prince of Quaker missionaries, in his *Journal* in connection with a visit he paid them in 1814. He writes:⁸

From Rochester I went on board a large prison-ship, below Chatham, to endeavor to have a meeting among the prisoners of war on board. They were generally Danes and Norwegians. Many of them were taken on merchants' vessels; some during their fishing excursions. A very remarkable visitation of the Holy Spirit took place on this prison-ship; three or four of the prisoners felt so powerfully convinced of sin that they sat together in the crowded ship weeping and praying. This drew upon them the sneers of the crew and the abuses of their fellow-prisoners; but they bore all with so much patience and meekness that some of their persecutors felt constrained to join them. Through living faith in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners, some of them

collected and published by the Arkivar at Oslo, Fr. Scheel, 'Kleng Persson (*sic*) og Restauration, in Nordmandsforbundet, Vol. XVI, 1923, pp. 323 ff.

The fullest account of the difficulty at New York harbor has just been unearthed from the archives at Oslo by Mrs. Gudrun Natrud and published in *Familiens Magasin* (Minneapolis), XXXVI, 12, September-October, 1925, p. 10. It is a report of Henry Gahn, Swedish-Norwegian consul at New York, dated October 15, 1825. He mentions explicitly the requirements of the law regarding tonnage per passenger, giving the number of passengers exclusive of crew as 45 and mentioning the birth of a forty-sixth during the voyage. He further adds as giving the vessel illegal standing, the fact that among its papers "a Latin pass and an Algerian pass were lacking." He also mentions the general interest of the public and the desire of the American officials (the Collector of the Port and the Secretary of the Treasury in Washington) to overlook if it were possible the violation of law. Altogether his report presents a most attractive picture of the welcome extended by American officialdom to immigrants a century ago. Beside the lack of proper papers mentioned, another new item given is that officially the owner of the *Restaurationen* was Johannes Steen. He was otherwise known only as one of the six heads of families on the expedition who were regarded as joint-owners of the sloop (Anderson, p. 92; Norlie, 122 f.). But the records of clearance at Stavanger (see note 5), as I observe, also name him as owner.

⁸ *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Stephen Grellet, Philadelphia, n. d., pp. 319 f.*

now felt their sorrow because of sin to be exchanged for joy and gratitude, a lively hope being begotten in them in His mercy and redeeming love. Their minds were so far illuminated by the Spirit in the deep things of God, that, witnessing a spiritual communion with the Father of Spirits, a right sense was given them of the nature of that worship which is in spirit and in truth; they accordingly sat together in silence, having their spirits gathered before God, undisturbed by the noise about them, or the revilings and reproaches, and even the stripes inflicted upon them. What greatly encouraged them was, that amidst so much suffering their number increased, and several of their most cruel persecutors became one in spirit with them, and in their turn endured with Christian patience the same sufferings that they had before inflicted upon others. During that time some on board, happening to tell to the men in a boat which had brought provision to the ship what a strange people they had among them, one of the boatmen said, "They were like the Quakers." That account came to the knowledge of a Friend, who sent to the ship a copy of "Barclay's Apology," in the Danish language. The little company read it very carefully, and found there several Christian testimonies of which they had been convinced before. They easily apprehended that against war and oaths, and in favour of silent worship, etc. Their number increased to thirty, nineteen of whom are Norwegians. Their good conduct attracted the attention and kindness of the captain of the ship, who generously granted them several privileges. He received me and the friends that accompanied me with great civility; he had the spacious decks covered with awnings, and seats prepared, and we had a meeting with about seven hundred prisoners; many were much affected. After this we had a private opportunity with about forty of the Norwegians and Danes, whom the Lord has so mercifully visited. It was a very tendering time. They appear acquainted with genuine piety. Free communication was allowed us on board this ship, because peace is now made between the European nations. These men are waiting till there is an opportunity to send them back to their respective nations.

There are extant letters also to English Friends from the prisoners themselves. One of the latter was Enoch Jacobsen of Stavanger. He ran away from home in 1808 and, joining a privateer, was captured three days later and imprisoned for three years in Scotland, and later at Chatham with some 600 other prisoners. He was evidently the first of them to become interested in Quakerism. Another was Elias Tastad, also of Stavanger, and both these continued for many years leaders of Norwegian Quakerism. They tell how a group of them under conviction of sin lived a life of circumspect conduct and piety in spite of the ridicule of their fellow prisoners. Enoch Jacobsen became aware of the existence of Friends through a glimpse he had of a Danish copy of Robert Barclay's Apology, the classic statement of Quaker belief, and with the help of a dic-

tionary he wrote to some English Friends in Chatham and London asking them if possible to come to see them. The letter concludes as follows: ⁹

I was on board another prison-ship, and there I saw one of Robert Barclay's books, and wished to have had it longer; but it belonged to the ship, and I was moved from that ship to this. I saw that the Spirit of God had led and enlightened you, and that you were counted worthy to suffer reproach for his name's sake; that he had chosen you to be his people, and that you should shine in darkness; that unbelievers should see your good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven.

My desire was so great that I had no rest without using every means to mention all these things to you. How could I dare to write and call you brothers, if I had not been led to it by the Spirit of God? For I do not know you after the flesh, nor you me, but after the Spirit; and I can feel that I have unity with your zeal, and that you are led by the Spirit of truth, and that it is God, of his great grace, who doth these things. May he be praised and honoured now and eternally!

I beg you, my brethren, if you cannot come yourselves on board to speak with me, that you will send me some of your books, and write me a few lines. Now, for the present, I have relieved my mind. The great and almighty God, who has in a wonderful manner performed all this, be thanked, praised, honoured, and glorified for ever. Amen.

Grace and peace be with your spirit.

Enoch Jacobsen.

Fyen prison-ship, 8 mo. 21, 1812.

The Friends paid the visit, and though "they could not, then, at all converse intelligibly with each other, yet by signs, in love and friendship, they understood a little of each others' feelings." More visits followed; books were given by the visitors, including books on Quakerism and for the study of the English language, and the visitors were finally allowed to hold meetings on

⁹ Richardson, p. 5. The presence of Quaker books on the prison ships was no accident. The records of the executive committee of Friends in England show that it planned to reach these prisoners. Anna L. Littleboy, 'Quaker Embassies a Century Ago,' in Friends' Quarterly Examiner, No. 209, 1919, p. 43, says: "In 1808 the Meeting for Sufferings was informed that there were about 2,700 Danish prisoners of war in England, and Wilson Birbeck and William Allen undertook to distribute Friends' books among them. . . . Barclay's Apology and Catechism, Penn's Key, Dell on Baptism in Danish . . . were the books granted." Cf. the anonymous Account of a Religious Society in Norway (see note 33) which contains the earliest printed record of the prisoners' conversion to Quakerism. Even before his release Enoch Jacobsen began to disseminate the same Quaker books in Norway, and he made a Danish translation of Penn's Rise and Progress.

board in a manner congenial to both parties, for, as Elias Tastad later recorded,¹⁰

We began to hold silent meetings before the Lord, previous to our knowing any thing of the manner in which Friends in England hold their meetings, and were almost strangers to their writings. At first, we got a little room to meet in, where only three persons could sit at once, until we took our little cabin in the ship for our public meeting-place, which was in the view of all the prisoners, who now seemed very kind to us, though previously they appeared to hate us. It then seemed as though the truth had more power over our outward than over our inward enemies.

In the latter part of our captivity, we were about thirty persons, Danes and Norwegians, who professed with Friends. We held our meetings for worship thrice in the week; but there was seldom any instrumental ministry amongst us.

In 1813 efforts were made by English Friends to get permission from the Transport Board for some of the prisoners to attend Friends' meetings on shore. The group was becoming larger and more definite. Both Jacobsen and Tastad offered to supply the Friends "a list of those on board who were inclined to embrace the principles of Friends, most of whom were from Stavanger" (Jacobsen). Tastad's list is preserved.¹¹ It contains twenty-four names ending with his own. The first is Anders Andersen Regends. The second is Even Samuel Mogleboust. The third is Lars Larssen Geilene. Here then is a contemporary reference to the future leader of the sloop Restaurationen, then awaiting release from "Fyen prison-ship near Chatham."

The feelings of the prisoners at their prospective liberation may readily be imagined. They were to say good-by to one another and to the English Friends whom they had learned to love. They were to return to their homes, not knowing what persecutions awaited them nor whether their own loved ones would receive the new religious message that they were yearning to give. Like many others in Christian history they felt that while in prison they had become truly free. To the English Friends one of them writes:¹²

¹⁰ Ibid., p. xi.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 8.

¹² Ibid., pp. 11 f. Ole Edwardsen is the writer.

I sincerely wish it was in my power, in this language, to express my feelings of thine and thy fellow brothers' goodness towards me and my companions; for I understand that it is you, next to God, to whom thanks belong, for our knowledge of the blessing of the truth, which I hope we are about to receive. I have been your enemy; and you have treated me as your friend. . . . There will, as thou saidst, come a winter season; but let it come; if it please God, he can carry me over it. I am not sorry to suffer for a good cause.

And again, under date of September 17, 1814:¹³

Dear friend [name not given], — Two Swedish frigates are ready for us, and we wait hourly for orders for our being sent on board. It is my duty, on my own and my companions' behalf, to bid thee dearly farewell. We thank thee for all that care and affection thou still hast shewn towards us; and we desire thou wilt have the goodness to remember our due acknowledgments to all the Friends, who, as well as thyself, have been careful for our true prosperity. The Lord reward you for it!

We are somewhat afflicted because we are now to be separated one from another, and because we may now have to experience severe trials; but we trust in God. When he is with us, we have to fear for nothing. Wheresoever we arrive we shall give you account, if possible. Receive, all of you, our dear love, and farewell for ever.

Thy unworthy friend,

Ole Edwardsen Loge.

Another, a converted ship captain:

I will say, for my part, that it was the best voyage I have done over the sea, that time I came to England; for then I found God my real Father and Preserver.¹⁴

Another writes:

By occasion of the war, I am put in this confinement and restrained of my bodily liberty; but feeling myself to be in a sweet liberty as to my soul, I thank God heartily, who has been so kind to me, and brought me here to receive his divine blessing, and has used you as a means to save me.¹⁵

The English Friends busied themselves with carrying forward plans for the prisoners' release and supplied them liberally with Quaker books, part of them in Danish.

It is impossible for us to follow them all to their homes. Our interest is in the Stavangerings of whose experiences Elias Tastad gives the following summary:¹⁶

¹³ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 21. From Thornes Johnsen.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 13. The writer is given as Kaaver O. Dahl.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

In the latter part of the year 1814, we were discharged from our imprisonment, and taken, by two Swedish frigates, to Christiania in Norway, and the Danes to their own place. Then this poor and mournful little flock became separated and scattered, each to his own place of abode, far distant one from another, scarcely two or three Friends to any one place. We were, however, four, belonging Stavanger, viz., Lars Larsen, Ole Franck, Even Samuelsen, and Elias Tastad. On our return, we were as poor and strange servants; yet we came to live so near one another that we kept up our meetings for worship, two or three times in the week, constantly; when a few others sometimes came and sat with us, either in a loft or in a chamber. We were then as a strange and despised people to the great professors; but the Lord preserved us in our testimonies, through many and various trials and afflictions, which we then had to endure for the truth's sake. Our sufferings were principally caused by the clergy, who stirred up the magistrates to persecution.

Of Lars Larsen it is said that he remained for a time in London at the home, or in the employ, of Margaret Allen. She was an elderly Friend, a widow, and the mother of William Allen, F.R.S., the Quaker financier and philanthropist of whom we shall hear again. An indication of Larsen's respect for her appears in the name of the daughter who was born on the sloop, Margaret Allen Larsen. When Larsen returned to Stavanger is unknown, but the first meeting is said to have been held in his home there in 1816. Until his marriage in 1824 his deaf and dumb sister Sarah Larsen kept house for him; she also went with him on the Restaurationen. In 1818 Enoch Jacobsen, who had come to London, writes to a Friend in Rochester conveying an affectionate message to him from Lars Larsen, and a few weeks later Jacobsen accompanied the two Quaker missionaries, Stephen Grellet and William Allen, through Norway at the beginning of their remarkable European tour. Grellet does not mention Larsen by name, though he writes at length of "the dear people who became convinced of our Christian principles in the prison-ship in England,¹⁷ who reside at Stavanger," and of their dealings with them. William Allen, however, in his account mentions Lars Larsen by name:¹⁸

We then went to the house of Lars Larsen, a carpenter, who is considered firmly settled in the principles of Friends. A young man, a fisherman, who lives with him, also professes with us, and had been rowing a considerable distance in his boat, till his hands were blistered, to give notice of the meeting

¹⁷ Grellet, pp. 361 f.

¹⁸ Life of William Allen, Vol. I, p. 272.

to-morrow. We sat down together to wait upon the Lord, and presently two young women, in the station of servants, came in also.

And two days later:

We went a little way out of Stavanger to Lars Larsen's, to attend the usual meeting.

Of the next year English records report:

In this same year, 1819, Lars Larsen came over to London, being desirous of learning the English language. He hoped to have found employment as a cabinet maker, and to have devoted his leisure hours to learning the language; but not finding proper employment readily, he was advised to return home.¹⁹

Another noted English Quaker, Thomas Shillitoe, came to Norway late in 1821. He spent perhaps a month at Stavanger but is not much given in his Journal to exact dates and names. Rather he records his own sensitive reactions both to outward circumstances and to inward doubts and divine promptings. His sense of guidance he expresses once in this fashion:²⁰

I thought I never more sensibly felt than during my labours this afternoon, the necessity of the instrument becoming like a clean tube, through which liquor passes from one vessel to another, free from the defilements of creaturely wisdom and activity, and from all the obstructions of the creaturely will in doing or not doing.

Shillitoe found the Danish language as unintelligible as the Norwegians found English, and he was as greatly impressed with the wild scenery, and the dangers of sailing and riding through it, as were the Norwegian settlers at the wonders of New York. At Christiania he was attended, and more or less satisfactorily interpreted, by Enoch Jacobsen, who, after staying in England until 1816, had settled there. From Christiania he proceeded by a fishing smack to Stavanger. The voyage was evidently not smooth, and the Tottenham shoe-maker found it difficult to maintain quiet trust and confidence in his divine Protector.

The prospect of the foaming waves, with the almost continual dipping of head or stern and the violent cracking of the vessel as if she was going to

¹⁹ Richardson, p. 34.

²⁰ Journal of the Life, Labours and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe. The references are to the edition in The Friends Library, Philadelphia, 1839, Vol. III. This quotation is at Christiania, Dec. 30, 1821 on page 221. At Bergen he refers to their hope "to have such beds as we might venture to get into."

pieces, made our situation appear terrific. . . . Setting my feet on shore again was grateful to my mind.²¹

On this journey we meet a familiar name in unfamiliar spelling.

I had very unexpectedly the company of Lance Lasson, a Friend of Stavanger, who spoke English, which added much to my comfort.

This is without doubt the sloop of 1825, and it may be well at this point to say a word about his knowledge of English. Like the other Quaker prisoners he found the foreign tongue very difficult to master. Jacobsen had begun to study an English grammar in 1813, but says,

I found it would be too difficult to learn it before I had a perfect knowledge of my own. I have therefore put a stop to the study of the English for some time until I have learned the Danish more perfectly.²²

Evidently he did very well as interpreter for Allen and Grellet, though the latter preferred to use his native tongue in intercourse with persons of rank, who, he says, "spoke French correctly." In the relation of speaker and interpreter Shillitoe and Jacobsen were evidently at times a little impatient with each other. The old-time Quaker extempore sermons would not have been easy to translate, even for the most proficient linguist. Shillitoe writes:

My friend Enoch Jacobsen not being equal to receive and translate long sentences, by care I was enabled to accommodate him, and to order my mode of expression to suit his ability.²³

Evidently Larsen was not so proficient. In 1819, as already noted, he had tried in vain to obtain a position in England in order to learn English, and while he was with Shillitoe we are not surprised that the latter constantly mentions that his interpreter was "deficient in the knowledge of the English language."²⁴ He preferred to use any other interpreter that offered himself, but kept Larsen "as a watcher, lest, for want of a clear view of my sentiments, any unsound principles should go forth to the people as mine; for which duty I could not doubt his

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

²² Richardson, p. 6.

²³ Shillitoe, p. 220.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236 and *passim*.

being competent.”²⁵ Throughout his stay at Stavanger Larsen was Shillitoe's constant companion.

From Stavanger Shillitoe intended to travel to Bergen, and being unable to endure the roughness of the roads he finally asked his friends to arrange to send him by sea, though, as he says,

I thought I might truly say my faith was tried, as to an hair's breadth, from the dread of encountering a voyage of near a hundred miles to Bergen on such a dangerous, rocky coast, in an open boat.²⁶

He then proceeds:

After inquiry being made for a boat, and a company of men to take charge of me, and nothing offering that appeared suitable, my kind friend Thomas —, having a good boat, and he and my interpreter being well acquainted with the coast, they engaged to provide themselves with such help as would be necessary, and to take charge of me to Bergen.²⁷

Thomas — is perhaps Thomas Hille who together with Metta Hille, and Lars Larsen and Elias Tastad are spoken of by R. B. Anderson as founders of the Friends' meeting at Stavanger. The interpreter is undoubtedly Larsen himself. Of the voyage along the fjords Shillitoe gives a graphic account which we must not stop to narrate. Larsen was a better seaman than linguist, and Shillitoe had more reason to be concerned for his physical safety than for the purity of the tubes of divine revelation. The Friends who came with him from Bergen remained until he set sail for Altona.

It was now July 1822, and there is no reason to suppose that Larsen had not already considered the possibility of going to America. A certain Cleng Peerson of Stavanger (1782-1865)²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁸ See the article by R. B. Anderson, 'Kleng Peerson, the Father of Norwegian Immigration to America,' in the *American Scandinavian Review*, VIII, 1920, pp. 502 ff. Much new information was published by T. C. Blegen in an article on 'Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration' in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (March, 1921). He had access to a copy of a letter written by Peerson from New York, December 20, 1824, to his "father, brother, sister, brother-in-law, and friends." "This letter proves clearly that Cleng Peerson was the advance agent of the immigrants of 1825, that he was directly urging the enterprise and encouraging its backers, that he arranged in 1824 for the purchase of land for his friends, that he was attempting to arrange for the sale of their ship should they purchase one for the journey, that he received coöperation and aid from a group of friends in New York City who are known

had gone the previous year to America with one companion and no doubt they were the agents whom all the accounts say were sent in advance of the Restaurationen party. Peerson himself was probably not a Friend, and he is reported to have had no religious interest but in later years to have become an atheist. Nevertheless he was to the end an admirer of the Quakers. His sister was the wife of Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, a part-owner in the sloop, and one of those who crossed in it with his whole family.

It has been conjectured that the idea of migrating to America was first suggested to the Norwegian Quakers by Stephen Grellet in his visit of 1818.²⁹ Grellet was a Roman Catholic of a noble French family, but had fled from the terrors of the French revolution to America in 1795, and later had been converted to Quakerism. He could tell something of America from many years of experience there. But America needed no such special introduction; it would occur to the mind of any restless or persecuted people like the Norway Quakers. An experience

to have been Quakers, and from acquaintances in western New York, that he made active preparations for housing the immigrants when they came . . . and that, far from being a scoffer and an atheist, he evinced at this time a pious religious attitude" (p. 312). On the genuineness of this letter see T. C. Blegen, 'Cleng Peerson in 1824,' in *Skandinaven* (Chicago) for July 11 and 12, 1924. Mr. Blegen has kindly lent me a copy and a translation of this letter. It has a religious tone, but nothing recognizable as distinctly 'Quaker idiom.' Blegen reports: "Elling Eielsen . . . told Svein Nilssen in 1869 that Peerson and Eide were Quakers sent by the Friends of Stavanger in 1821 to investigate conditions in America. Their expenses, he declared, were paid by the Quakers of Stavanger and possibly in part by English Quakers" (p. 309, note 27). As early as 1818 Dean Sören reported that Kleng Pedersen Hesthammer, then abroad [in exile?] in Denmark had "given offense, even misleading others to absent themselves from attendance of public worship and the use of the communion" (Malmin, II). On Peerson's antecedents see Fr. Scheel in the article mentioned in note 7.

Blegen, p. 310 note 30, understood Peerson's brother-in-law mentioned in the letter to be Lars Larsen, but writes me that he is "practically certain now that there is no foundation for the statement." Perhaps he was led astray by R. B. Anderson, *First Chapter*, p. 47, but Anderson recently writes explicitly that Martha Peerson who married Lars Larsen was not related to Cleng Peerson. On the other hand, another member of the party of 1825, Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, was married to a sister of Cleng Peerson (Kari Peerson Hesthammer); Anderson, 'Cleng Peerson,' pp. 8, 38. Whether Hersdal is the brother-in-law included in the address I do not know.

²⁹ B. L. Wick, p. 259. According to Shillitoe's *Journal*, p. 237, Larsen met another American Quaker, a young man from New Bedford, while travelling with Shillitoe in 1822.

that came to the attention of Shillitoe and Larsen in their last days at Bergen indicates the universality of the situation which led to Larsen's enterprise. Shillitoe was told that there were two Quakers in Bergen, and he came into conference with them. He found them to be not Quakers but members of a group, largely in agreement with Quaker ideals, who had already suffered great persecution "in the late King of Wirtemberg's dominions." When released on condition of leaving the country, seven hundred of them had set sail in a vessel for America and after a gruesome experience of fraud and pestilence these two survivors had been left stranded at Bergen without money to go farther. Shillitoe succeeded in raising from the people of Bergen enough money for their passage on a ship to Baltimore, and wrote letters of recommendation to Friends residing at that port.³⁰

Whatever its source, the plan to emigrate to America could only mature slowly. In 1824 Cleng Peerson returned to Norway, and at Christmas of the same year Lars Larsen was married to Martha Georgiana Peerson, who was twenty-one years old at the time. With five other families the Larsens converted their possessions into money, purchased the sloop *Restaurationen*, which had been built in Hardanger Fjord between Stavanger and Bergen, and loaded it with a cargo of iron. Lars Larsen was the heaviest investor in the enterprise. A captain and a mate were secured, the latter from Bergen. On June 27th the clearance permit was given at the Stavanger custom-house. On July 4th or 5th the party sailed.

It is necessary at this point to inquire as to the religious status of the party and their motives for emigration. It must not be supposed that they were all, like Larsen, formally members of the Society of Friends. At this time the only recognized and lawful religion in Norway was the Lutheran church. The idea of choosing one's own religion, and particularly of organizing another church, could scarcely have occurred to any one. Besides, the Friends have no easy way of extending their membership to isolated individuals, since membership implies participation in a local meeting. The prisoners at London could not

³⁰ Shillitoe, pp. 247-249.

have joined the Society of Friends at that time. Some Friends of Rochester gave them a statement "to whom it may concern," explaining their sympathy with Friends and their inability for conscience' sake to engage in war,³¹ but this was not a certificate of membership. In 1818, with the help of the English visitors, official "two-months meetings" were established at Christiania and Stavanger. The meeting in the former place came into difficulties among themselves and with outsiders and was soon given up. Though the latter meeting survives, it has always been small. For 1825 the London records give its membership as 10.³² It is evident that not many of the sloopers were technically Friends, no matter how much Quakers influenced them and furthered their undertaking.

³¹ One of these certificates is given by Richardson, p. 13, as follows:

"TO ALL WHOM THESE MAY CONCERN.

"Canute Halversen, whilst having been a prisoner of war at this port, has, we believe, been favoured with tendering influences of the love of God; and becoming a little acquainted with us, members of the Religious Society of Friends (called Quakers), a people, in those parts, who, amongst other noble testimonies (an able Apology for which he has with him, in his own language), hold the inconsistency of war with the Gospel Dispensation, and therefore cannot, for conscience sake, engage therein. And we believe that he, with others of his countrymen, are made partakers, with us, of the same precious peaceable testimony; and we are desirous of recommending him to the kind attention of those with whom his lot may be cast, that he may be permitted to have their support in this religious scruple, and witness preservation.

"Chatham, county of Kent, England, 12th of the 2nd month, 1814."

³² Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1921, p. 822. Richardson, p. 27, says that when the meeting was organized in 1818, "eight individuals were recognized as members of the Society," and adds in a footnote: "Four of this little company afterwards emigrated to America." This and perhaps two like references are the only hint given by the Quaker historian in 1848 of Lars Larsen's memorable voyage, which was so significant in the history of both Norway and America. He evidently regarded emigration to America as a cowardly effort "to avoid afflictions in bearing the cross" (p. 52).

This article was already in proof when I at last secured contemporary lists of the members of the Society of Friends at Stavanger. These come not directly from their own records but (through the kindness of Mr. Malmin) from the royal archives at Oslo (Kirkedpt. 3die Aflevering 27). They occur as signatories to petitions in the years 1823, 1825, and 1826. None of the sloopers except Lars Larsen appears on the lists. Two of the signers are mentioned in the Quaker minutes of Western New York in 1828 as having their membership transferred from Stavanger, viz. Even Samuelsen Mogleboust (cf. page 300) and Mallena Asbjorns Datter Waaga. The latter had married in 1820 Ole Franck (d. 1822), one of the Quaker prisoners of war (see page 302), and in 1828 she married one of the sloopers, Ole Johnson Eie, who had joined the Society of Friends

Probably many of the sloopers belonged to a similar native movement, the Haugeans. This sect derives its name from Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), sometimes called the "Spener of the North." He carried on a campaign for the spiritualization of religion, and protested against the abuses and usurpation of the official Lutheran clergy. His followers never left the church, though their attitude was one of criticism towards it. As Quakerism rose out of the Seekers and Anabaptists in England, so in Norway its soil was the Haugeans or *Laesere* ('readers'), as they are called in Norwegian, or the 'Saints' as the Quakers name them. There was more than a superficial or negative likeness between the two types of religion, though the Quakers were doubtless more extreme; and a considerable interest, if not influence, subsisted between them. Hauge probably knew of Friends only in later life, when he had read Barclay's Apology and received a visit from Thomas Shillitoe described in the latter's journal. He is said to have warned his followers in Christiania against the Friends; but elsewhere his followers and the Quaker adherents became almost indistinguishable. It was as Haugeans that the revival of spiritual life came to the prisoners at London before they made connections with Friends; Anders Andersen of Stavanger, whom we have already mentioned, was one of the 'Saints.' The Quaker visitors developed a great curiosity in this kindred movement, and asked the prisoners to secure information about "the Norway Saints."³³ The Friends complained only that the Haugeans had not gone far enough. Shillitoe charged Hauge with being a backslider, since after "protesting against an hireling

in America. Another signer, Møtha Truls Datter Hille, is mentioned in America in 1837 by the Larsens in their letters. See the end of note 47 and the articles there cited.

³³ See Richardson, pp. 9-11, 21, etc. The Quaker William Alexander, of York, is said by Richardson, p. 38, to have written a little tract on the Haugeans. Joseph Smith in his Quaker bibliography makes no mention of it, but lists under the name of Frederick Smith an anonymous pamphlet which I suspect is identical with it: "An Account of a Religious Society in Norway called Saints," London, 1814. Biographies of Hauge have been written by A. Chr. Bang (3rd ed., Christiania, 1910) and A. Olaf Røst (Chicago, 1910). For his autobiographical narrative see notice in Harvard Theological Review, XVII, 1924, p. 287. An independent Lutheran synod formed about the middle of the century in America, and named for Hauge from 1876 to 1890, perpetuated the memory of his influence on the immigrants.

ministry," and being imprisoned and fined for so doing, he had "become a priest's assistant and collector of the priest's wages."³⁴

There can be no doubt that in Stavanger the two influences largely coalesced and that one or both of them had affected the sloopers. Probably neither name would be entirely accurate to describe the whole party, though we are not surprised that the Baltimore American, referring to their arrival, says:

They belong to a religion called the Saints, corresponding in many points to the principles of Friends. We understand furthermore that they have sought an asylum in this favored land from religious persecution and that they will shortly be succeeded by a much larger body of emigrants.³⁵

While the newspapers in America called the immigrants Saints, the Norwegian newspaper account of their departure was evidently understood to mean that they were Quakers. In *Den Norske Rigstidende*, July 25, 1825, was published a statement from Stavanger, dated July 7th, of the departure two days before (*iforgaars*) for America, where "they expect to find Canaan's land," of "five families of farmers, said to belong to a religious society that has secured several adherents in recent years in the neighborhood." Upon reading the notice the chief officials of the church department wrote promptly to the Bishop in Christiansand, saying they had read in the *Rigstidende* that "several families said to belong to the Quaker sect had migrated to America." They asked how many Quakers had gone and how many were left. To this ominous inquiry Bishop Munch replied, on the authority of Elias Tastad, leader of the Quaker society in and about Stavanger, that 51 persons had gone, but only one single one of that sect, namely Lars i Geilene was included in those that went, and that there were in Stavanger city and environs 12 members, namely 8 males and 4 females.³⁶

³⁴ Shillitoe, pp. 225 f. A Norwegian Quaker had interviewed Hauge about 1814. See Richardson, pp. 20 f.

³⁵ Quoted in the *New York American*, October 22, 1825.

³⁶ The documents are given in full by Malmin, II. I see no way to escape the statement of Tastad that only Lars Larsen was officially a Quaker, no matter how much one supposes his associates on the sloop to have been influenced by Quakerism without being actual members of the Society. It may be argued that Tastad, having in 1823 sent in the names of certain members (see above, note 32) petitioning for permis-

There has been some effort made to show that the Sloopers were not mainly influenced by religious motives or the desire to escape repression. American Norwegian historians of Lutheran affiliations find it difficult to glorify the settlers as refugees from persecution without throwing obloquy on the Lutheran church in the homeland. Some, therefore, prefer to assert that there

sion to reside in the country in accordance with the requirements of the government, could not now, without getting himself into difficulties, acknowledge that others of the émigrés were also Friends, since they must have joined secretly and against the law. But their petition was not granted until 1826. Besides, the English Friends themselves were conservative about admitting to full membership persons whom they did not know, and the difficulties were sufficient to dissuade many sympathizers from conforming to the requirements of the government. In 1823, according to a statement of the Stavanger Amstcontor, the applicants for permission to be Quakers included only men above military age and their wives — the former "having left the realm as Lutherans and after several years of English internment having returned as Quakers" (Malmin, II). Now of the names of twenty-four sympathizers given to English Friends (Richardson, p. 8) Lars Larssen Geilene alone reappears in the list of sloop passengers. The records of Friends' meetings in New York State seem to confirm this also. Only one minute of membership dated 1825 is apparently extant, and that is for Lars Larssen: "As this our friend and member Lars Larssen Geilen with his family (viz. his wife Martha and child named Margaret) think proper to leave us, to spend the rest of his days in the United States of America we can give him no farther help than to recommend them to their friends in that country, who no doubt will give him the best advice; in other respects we must recommend him to the help of his Maker. Stavanger the 30th day of the 6th mo. 1825. Elias Eliassen Tastad" (Rochester Monthly Meeting Records — Hicksite). That other passengers on the sloop subsequently became full members of the Society of Friends and that other members of the Quaker meeting in Stavanger came to America subsequently is evidenced by minutes of the Friends in New York State. See note 32 and note 47 (at end). Anderson regarded most of the sloopers as Quakers, and names several explicitly as such. Dr. Andreas M. Seierstad, the church historian at Oslo, who has made a careful study of Quakerism in Norway in his *Kyrkjelegt Reformarbeid*; *Norig i Nittande Hundreareet*, Bergen, 1923, pp. 219-254, thinks that beside Larsen three other sloopers were Quakers, though not formally, viz. Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, Ole Johnson, and Daniel Stenson Rossadal. Meanwhile we await further evidence perhaps to be found in the Quaker records of Stavanger, London, New York, and possibly Illinois. Though there have been many Norwegian Quakers in Iowa, I am not sure of Illinois. About 1835 the majority of the surviving sloopers and their children moved from Kendall, N. Y., to the Fox River Settlement in Miller and Mission townships, La Salle County, Ill. Yet neither the two histories of La Salle County (Elmer Baldwin, Chicago, 1877; and anonymous, Chicago, 1886) nor the History of the Norwegians in Illinois (compiled and edited by Algot E. Strand, Chicago, [1905]) suggest in any way that these first Norwegians settlers in Illinois had any Quaker organization or connections. In 1847 the Consul General reported to the Norwegian government that "a few of those who came with the sloop" were still living there (English translation in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, VIII, 1924, p. 77).

was no substantial persecution and that the emigrants' motives were not idealistic. They point out certain incidents in the voyage as discreditable and lay weight on the absence of evidence of extreme persecution in Norway. Though their position can be understood, their conclusion is certainly erroneous. The exiles' motives were doubtless mixed, but the desire for religious liberty was one of the most powerful. Their disobedience to local regulations in every foreign harbor they entered, in England, at Madeira, and at New York, is more probably due to the ignorance of men unskilled in official red tape than to any lack of Christian uprightness. The sale and use of intoxicants was not strictly forbidden even by the Quakers one hundred years ago. Besides, the whole history of Norwegian Quakerism from 1818 to 1845 (when religious toleration was established) is full of ominous references.³⁷ From their prison-ship they went home with grave forebodings. Hauge was a warning to them. He told a Norwegian Quaker that he had been in eleven prisons for his religious convictions. He had just secured his freedom by compromise after ten years of persecution. In 1816 a Quaker marriage had caused considerable comment. In 1818 Jacobson wrote:

There are no laws yet made in favour of Friends; so that those who stand firm in their principles act contrary to the laws of the country. Friends must be resigned to take the consequence. . . . All is quiet at present, so that we have not suffered any imprisonment yet; though we may, in some respects, have many difficulties.³⁸

In the same year Stephen Grellet interviewed the King of Sweden (Bernadotte), and, to use his own words,

pleaded on behalf of the little flock of his subjects who have embraced principles similar to ours, and who have in some instances been brought into suffering for maintaining their testimony against war, oaths, an hireling ministry, etc.³⁹

³⁷ Richardson, *passim*. Among many incidental evidences in the Norwegian records that religious repression was a motive in the early emigration is the fact that originally one chapter of Rynning's *True Account of America* was devoted to a criticism of the official clergy of Norway. Unfortunately for us one of them, Dean Kragh in Eidsvold expunged this chapter from the proof.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁹ Grellet, p. 374. In the same year a written appeal to the king was made by the "Meeting for Sufferings," as the executive body of English Friends is still quaintly designated.

It was in connection with the state church that the greatest difficulty arose. Aside from public disapproval the dissenters had many occasions to feel uncomfortable, and the clergy many opportunities to avail themselves of the law against them. In 1818 at Christiania, William Allen found in the house of correction "about twenty young persons confined because they had neglected to learn their catechism and consequently could not be confirmed by the priest." Every birth, death, and marriage required by law the official action of the church. In 1821 Elias Tastad was fined for not having buried two of his children in ground that was consecrated, the fine to run on at the rate of five dollars a day until he should dig them out again. From this he was released only when an appeal from his sentence was made to the King. A letter of the following year from Bishop Sorensen to the constituted dean of Stavanger is preserved, in which beside requiring that each Friend must produce a certificate of membership if he is to "be allowed to live in this country or kingdom in quality of a Quaker," he adds that it will be expected that "they bind themselves not to make proselytes, and from admitting new members, as also to pay taxes and duties as other subjects or bergers of the state."⁴⁰ In the same year Shillitoe refers to the fact that "the laws of Norway are severe on an attempt to proselyte." On October 2, 1823, ten Friends from Stavanger, including Tastad and Larsen, petitioned the government for the right to remain in the realm as Quakers. The sheriff, in forwarding the petition, though he acknowledged it would be hurtful in time of war to allow every man whose duty it was to be a soldier to remain in the realm as a Quaker, acknowledged that the petitioners were diligent and industrious, and recommended that they be permitted to remain as Quakers, since the refusal to allow the practice of their forms of religion would not change their belief but would result ultimately in their leaving the realm. These words of the sheriff were prophetic. On April 22, 1825, the same Friends repeated their request. The petition was not granted until May 11, 1826; by that time one at least of the petitioners was safely in America. Apparently the laws became more severe

⁴⁰ Richardson, p. 37.

rather than less so until "in the year 1830 Friends in Norway were forbidden to hold their religious meetings; and those of Stavanger were required, by the local authorities, to keep within three-quarters of a mile around the town."⁴¹

Evidence of convincing character has recently become known. It consists of a sixty-page report on the emigration from Norway to the United States prepared for the Norwegian government in 1843, based on many authentic sources, preserved in the official publications of the Storting and in the royal archives at Oslo. It refers explicitly to the Quakers who formed the sloop-party of 1825, and admits that "they were discontented, and had good cause to be discontented, with their treatment by officials of state and church under Norwegian laws. Their faith was at least a contributory (*medvirkende*) motive."⁴² This report was prepared to meet the desire of the government to devise some way to reduce the rate of Norwegian emigration, which had reached alarming proportions. No restrictive measures, however, were adopted, but the investigation did result in the passage in 1845 of a law granting full religious toleration. In this indirect way the Restaurationen was of enduring importance not only for America but also for Norway. And in that country, just as in other countries in other centuries, the conspicuous, persistent, and innocent non-conformity of the Quakers was largely responsible for securing religious freedom for all.

We may not follow further the fate of the Friends whom Larsen and his companions left behind in 1825. But it is clear

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 53. The belated arrival of certified copies of these petitions (see note 32) enables me to avoid some errors, but they raise some interesting questions. The petition of April 22, 1825, adds three new names among the petitioners, but omits Lars Larsen. It is natural to suppose that he had already decided to emigrate and did not care to ask again for permission to remain in the realm.

⁴² Blegen, p. 317. "In general the migration of the Quakers and their associates in 1825 acquires added importance as the background, motives and influence of that movement become clearer" (ibid., p. 318 note 63). T. C. Blegen gives a fuller account of the material in an article, 'The Norwegian Government and the Early Norwegian Emigration,' *Minnesota History*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1925), and Gunnar Malmin in *Decorah-Posten* gives some selections from the letters and journals of immigrants which originally formed an appendix to the report, though not printed with it. None of this material is available in English.

that even without any instances of actual martyrdom the emigrants of this period had ample reason to seek escape from the intolerant clergy and sheriffs. A few may have been indifferent to matters of religion, but most of them were doubtless in sympathy with Quakers or Saints and were subject to the annoyance of finding themselves in constant conflict with the laws. Hardly one of them is likely to have been in full sympathy with the state church.⁴³ Indeed it was nearly twenty years before there was any ordained priest of that church among the American immigrants. To-day in this country millions of Lutheran Norwegians are celebrating the arrival of the Restaurationen. So do the prophets continue to be honored by the children of those that persecuted them.

The later history of Larsen, so far as it is known, is fully told by the Norwegian historians. In New York the party was welcomed by Quakers, who helped them with food and clothing and also provided them funds to reach their farms. These were in the township of Kendall, county of Orleans, New York. Joseph Fellows, a Friend, is said to have secured their title for them.⁴⁴ Larsen sent his wife and baby on with the party, while

⁴³ "Ole Olson Hetletveit, who came on the sloop in 1825, is said to have been the only one of that company who remained true to the Lutheran faith" (A History of the Norwegians in Illinois, p. 140). On the beginnings of Norwegian Lutheranism in the United States see E. O. Mörstad, Elling Eielsen og den "Evangelisk-lutherske Kirke" i Amerika, Minneapolis, 1917, and J. Magnus Röhne, Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872 (a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Theology at Harvard University, soon to be published).

⁴⁴ Kendall township on Lake Ontario was part of Murray township until it was set off from the latter in 1837. Hence Ole Rynning in the quotation above (p. 295) still called it "Murray." In his letter written in 1824 (above, note 26) Cleng Peerson said he had arranged with the land agent at Geneva for the purchase of land. Now Geneva is in Ontario, not Orleans, County, but this difficulty is removed (cf. T. C. Blegen, 'Cleng Peerson in 1824') by the fact that Joseph Fellows, though he had his office at Geneva, was sub-agent (later agent) for the Pultney Land Office, which controlled lands in Orleans County, including Kendall Township. The newspaper notices in Niles's Weekly Register, XXIX, p. 115, and elsewhere, speak in a similarly misleading way of the emigrants as "destined for Ontario County, where an agent has purchased a tract of land for them."

On Fellows and Kendall see O. Turner, History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, Rochester, 1851, p. 281; Arad Thomas, Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York, Albion, 1871, pp. 269, 273, 284. The Kendall settlement passed through difficulties, including "the sickly season" of 1828. Many of its members removed to La Salle County, Illinois, about 1834 or 1835.

he remained behind to sell the ship and its cargo. When he was able to follow them, the newly opened Erie Canal was frozen, and he skated from Albany to Kendall. He finally settled in Rochester, and made canal boats until his sudden death in the canal in 1845. It is easy to understand the choice of place and occupation on the part of the ship-carpenter of Stavanger. Two American Quakers had largely been responsible for putting through the great canal in the governorship of DeWitt Clinton. The Quaker agents of the emigrants knew well the great prosperity which lay before the territory near it. The circumstances are curiously assembled in three references in a single issue of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. One is notice of an honorary degree conferred on the Honorable DeWitt Clinton by the young Ohio University. One is a shipping note; "Danish sloop Restoration, Holland. 78 days from Norway." The third is as follows:

Rochester, N. Y. Oct. 5. The census of our village, as taken by Messrs. Burr and Stilson, under the act of legislature produces the following result:

On the east side of the river	1905
On the west side of the river	3366
	<hr/>
	5271

Making an increase of more than 1000 since February last!

Most of the Sloopers and those who followed them moved out of such crowded areas to the freer west, but Larsen's home was a regular station on their route and there they enjoyed great hospitality. In Norway Elias Tastad seems to have remained as a kind of shipping station for this forwarding agency. In the "Description of a Journey to America" written in 1837 by one Ole Knudson Nattestad, a kind of predecessor to Ole Rynning, we read,

At Stavanger we got trace of a man by name Elias Tastad with whom all who wanted to go to America inscribed their names.⁴⁵

The Larsens kept in touch with their old associate and named for him one of their eight children. The messengers coming westward were more numerous than those going eastward.

⁴⁵ Translation in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, I, 1917, p. 168.

Four letters to Norway from the Larsen family in 1837 and later, have been recently unearthed from the Quaker archives at Stavanger and published in English.⁴⁶ They are addressed to Elias Tastad, except one from Margaret, the baby born in the sloop, which is addressed to "My dear Grandmother if living and uncle John." This and one of the letters from her mother is in English. These all throw much light both on Norwegian emigration and on the feeling of the Norwegian Quakers in the presence of the unfortunate situation following the Hicksite schism in America. A few quotations from Martha Larsen will suffice.

Rochester, 11th of 10th mo., 1837.

Twelve Norwegians came here today, and are now sitting at the table eating their supper. About two weeks ago there arrived from ninety to a hundred people. They stayed at our house and my brother's house about a week, and we furnished meals for nearly all of them. . . .

The dissension among the Friends is the same now as before. Those who have left have shown the world a very poor example. But I shall not say much about them, for I wish them well, and have often prayed that God might grant them time for repentance.

I am glad to say that, as far as I know, my dear Lars no longer associates with them, which is the greatest joy I could desire here on earth. He is greatly interested in church work, is diligent in his work, and we live together with great happiness, for God has blessed us with both temporal and spiritual gifts. We are blessed with six children, five girls and one boy. They are good, healthy, well-behaved children, who give us great joy. . . .

Elias, I want to ask you as a friend that you advise no one to come here who cannot help himself, because practically all of them come to us and we cannot help so many. We, of course, do what we can for them all. I have gone around town looking for work for them, and Lars has taken many of them out into the country. We spare no pains to make them satisfied.

[no date]

My dear Friend Elias Tasta:

I can't let this good opportunity go by accept writing these few lines to you for to express little of my feeling and situation. I have not for sometime past been very well but at present I am better. I and my husband went away last 5th month on acont of my health. We went from home the 16th of the same month and got to New York the 20th about 5 o'clock in the morning and 6 o'clock we took the steamboat for Philadelphia. Then we went about thirty miles by water, then we took the rail road car for about 30 miles cross the New Jersey and through Berlington where Steven Grellet live, and from there we took the steamboat again across Delawere River into Philadelphia,

⁴⁶ American Scandinavian Review, XIII, 1925, pp. 361-364^{*}(corrected).

and there we staid for four days. We meet there exceedingly kind friends and we tended meting twice and there we found Tormon Bournson, and from there we went again to N. Y. to tend the yearly meting, witch was very interesting to me. I had the comfort to be in company with our dear friend Steven Grellet, also, with a great minister from England of the name Joseph John Gerny. We all put up together to a friend of the name Collins. The meting lasted about 5 days. O my dear Friend Elias, thou cannot have any idea what a good meting the yearly metings are. It has felt to me as a kingdom on the earth, and, if I may express myself, the friends has piered to me like angels for their love and chareity are very great towards each others. I have often thought of thee as well as the rest of the friends there and I feel a great love towards you all, more than I can with pen express. O that we may remember the Savour's word when he says love one a nother. I consider that for the greatest part in the society, for where there are love there are forbearance and where there is no love there is no forbearance for Paul says if he has evry thing els that belong to a Christean but has no love, it is all in vain. Therefore first and last let us love one a nother.

I must tell thee a little about Metha. I have not seen her for about nine months but I have heard that she is well, but I calculate to go and see her as soon as possible. She lives about 20 miles from Rochester in a place that is called Farmington, with respectfully friends, witch is called the Authordox friends, for she said she could not for consieciences sake unite with those there is called Hicksides, but I for my part feel a great love for that side as well as towards my own friends.⁴⁷

The Restaurationen has been called the Norse Mayflower. It belongs also among the famous ships of Quaker history —

⁴⁷ The date of this letter is not given, but it is limited to the three years 1838, 1839, 1840, which are the ones when according to his Journal Joseph John Gurney attended New York Yearly Meeting. Probably it was written before 8 mo. 1839, when he spent two days in Rochester, the population of which then was, he says, about 20,000. *Memoirs of J. J. Gurney*, Phila. 1854, II. p. 184. Farmington was a Quaker community, having been bought by some Quaker settlers from Massachusetts in 1789 (see [W. H. McIntosh,] *History of Ontario County, New York*, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 193 f., and the county histories of G. S. Conover and C. F. Milliken as cited by Blegen, p. 311 note 31). Cleng Peerson had been in touch with "friends [Friends?] in Macedon" and "Fanningtown" when he returned to America in 1824. Macedon and Farmington lie near each other, east of Rochester. Metha is called in another letter Metta Hille (see above, p. 305), while her brother Thomas Hill is greeted as still in Norway. Thomas Shillitoe visited Rochester and the neighboring Quaker communities in 1828. Did he and Larsen meet each other again at that time? Elias Hicks travelled to this part of New York several times, for example in 1820, in 1825 (opening of Scipio Quarterly Meeting), and in 1828 (holding meetings at Farmington, Macedon, Rochester, and a dozen other places). See the *Journal of Elias Hicks*, pp. 390, 397, and 432 f. Ole Johnson and several other Norwegians joined his party, but not the Larsens. See above, note 36, and Norlie, p. 152. On evidence from Quaker records about Norwegian Friends in Western New York, see articles by J. Cox, Jr., *Friends' Intelligencer*, Vol. 82, 1925, pp. 829 f., 848 ff., and by the present writer in *Decorah-Posten*, November 20, 1925.

with the Woodhouse, the Industry, the Welcome and many others unknown to fame. Even the Mayflower, if we can trust Rendel Harris's ingenuity, is a kind of member of the Quaker fleet. The Society of Friends has just been celebrating (in the Quaker way) the tercentenary of George Fox's birth in 1624. Probably few of them have claimed much share in the public centennial of 1825.

Recalling, however, many stages of Quaker story, both the earliest and the most recent, this unfamiliar episode from a middle period shows how consistent and repetitious is the habit of history. Whenever in any land men seek release from priestcraft or conscription they are dubbed Quakers, and they find in the Quakers friends in need. From the Mennonites of 1683 to the Dukhobors of 1899, exiles for conscience' sake have been assisted by the Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic with generosity and sympathy. As from the prison-ships at Chatham a little band of friends of the Friends returned in 1814 to spread their influence in Norway, so a century later the German and Austrian 'alien enemies' whom the Friends had befriended in the prison-camps in England, returned with deep gratitude to their homes, and still count themselves, if not Friends, at least 'friends of the Friends.' In this way the chance of circumstance and the persistent habits of a tiny sect have given it an opportunity for influence out of proportion to its numbers, and the strangers' children's children rise up to call them blessed.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN JAPAN

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I. FAMILY ANCESTOR WORSHIP

THE cult of family ancestors in Japan is of fundamental importance in the religious life of the people.¹ Though less deeply rooted than in China it still remains of vital consequence, for a large majority of the Japanese people continue to observe its rites, and even in 1911 official measures were taken for the purpose of encouraging ancestor worship as essential to the perpetuation of the national ideals.²

Before the invasion of Chinese influence in the sixth and following centuries Japanese ancestor worship probably included the worship of clan ancestors, but otherwise amounted to no more than occasional offerings to the departed — the sort of irregular propitiation of ghosts which is almost universal among animistic peoples. The regular domestic cult of the immediate ancestors of individual families (that is, ancestor worship in the stricter sense) appears in Japan as the result of a century or more of Chinese influence. In the earlier period of Japanese civilization the institution of the family was still in the formative stage. Not until the family was stabilized, and society gradually reconstituted according to continental models, did true ancestor worship become possible. In this process the influence of Buddhism was early and strongly felt. The native Shinto, concerned chiefly with national and nature deities, had little to say on the subject of family ancestors. But Buddhism took a special interest in recognizing and maintaining the domestic cult; through Buddhism household shrines were first established; and Buddhism has always maintained with Japanese ancestor worship an intimate connection, to a degree unknown in China.

¹ L. Hearn, *Japan, an Attempt at Interpretation*, New York, 1904, pp. 27, 422; N. Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law*, 2d ed., Tokyo, 1912, p. 1.

² T. Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, New York, 1914, p. 161.

The essential validity of these main facts is vouched for by the most trustworthy American and European authorities on Japanese history and religion and is recognized by the more scientific-minded among Japanese scholars. It has been the tendency, however, of most Japanese writers to project into the past the forms and beliefs of ancestor worship, with the result of assigning to them an antiquity for which there is no sound evidence. These forms and beliefs were of slow growth; and only the general belief in survival after death and in the advantage of occasionally propitiating the dead can be said to be of indisputably Japanese origin.³

The present forms of Japanese ancestor worship naturally bear a close resemblance to the classical Chinese rites. The points of difference, which are numerous and characteristic, are largely due to the important Buddhist elements found in Japan but absent in China. As in China, there are household shrines containing the ancestral tablets, which are variously regarded as the habitations of the spirits at the time of offerings or as mere memorial symbols.⁴ In Japan these shrines and tablets are of two types — Shinto and Buddhist, the former rarely found, the latter in general use. Properly speaking, pure Shinto should use no tablets or at most a strip of paper inscribed with the ancestor's name. Such restrictions, however, are customary only in those households which make a special point of exclusively Shinto worship and aim to exclude all Buddhist features. The normal type of the Japanese cult of ancestors is Buddhist.

³ Hearn, pp. 23 ff., 45, 49; Harada, p. 139;

K. Asakawa, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, Tokyo, 1903, pp. 35 ff.;

W. E. Griffis, *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, New York, 1907, p. 165;

S. Haruyama, *Development of the Form and Meaning of Ancestor Worship in Japan* (in Japanese), *Philosophical Review*, Kyoto, April, 1918, pp. 403 ff.;

K. Florenz, *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion*, Göttingen, 1919, pp. 335, 336 note;

W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 44 ff.;

G. W. Knox, *The Development of Religion in Japan*, New York, 1907, pp. 27, 66 f.

⁴ In contrast with Chinese custom, it is the common practice in Japan to provide soul tablets for all deceased members of the family, regardless of age or sex — an expansion due, no doubt, to Buddhist influence. See Feu Titsingh, *Cérémonies usitées au Japon*, Paris, 1822, Vol. II, p. 70; N. H. Kennard, *Lafcadio Hearn*, London, 1912, p. 287 (quoting Hearn).

In most families there is a *butsu-dan*, or Buddhist shrine, which houses not only the images of Buddhist divinities but also the Buddhist form of ancestral tablets, the *ihai*. The tablets are the property of the senior male of the family. Younger brothers possess no ancestral *ihai* but attend the ceremony at the elder brother's house. These tablets vary greatly in size and quality according to whether they are for man, woman, or child, and according to the means of the family. For a grown man they are usually about a foot high and about two inches wide, made of wood covered with black lacquer on which characters are inscribed in white or in gold. On the top is carved an ornamental headpiece and at the bottom a pedestal in the form of a lotus. In general appearance they resemble miniature tomb-stones. Each is inscribed with the religious or posthumous name commonly bestowed upon the departed in Buddhist funeral ceremonies. To this is added the date of death and sometimes the real name of the deceased. Two *ihai* are preserved — one in the family shrine and one in the Buddhist temple where the departed was recorded as a parishioner. In the temples such *ihai* accumulate by the thousand. The highest value is placed upon them; and in time of flood or fire they are always promptly and carefully rescued.⁵

Sacrifices before these soul-tablets are offered on various occasions. In the households of the devout daily offerings are made. Besides the daily rites are the rites performed monthly on the "sacrifice-day," that is, the day in each month corresponding to the day of the ancestor's death.⁶ Of still more consequence are the rites of the "sacrifice-month," that is, the actual day of the year, as it annually recurs, on which the ancestor's death took place. This anniversary day is celebrated with special solemnity and formality in the "sacrifice-years," that is, when it occurs in the first, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, and one hundredth years after death (according to Shinto custom), or in the first, third, seventh,

⁵ Feu Titsingh, Vol. II, pp. 40 ff.; Hozumi, pp. 30 ff.; L. Hearn, Japan, pp. 49 f.; L. Hearn, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, Boston, 1894, Vol. II, pp. 399 ff.

⁶ This monthly remembrance on the day of death in each month is observed as such only by those who practise no daily observances.

thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, thirty-seventh, forty-third, forty-seventh, fiftieth, and one hundredth years after death (according to the commoner Buddhist custom).⁷ In addition to these regular ceremonies, all of which are dependent on the date of death and therefore vary with each individual, there are seasonal rites of universal obligation, to which we shall later refer.

The details of all these rites vary with the occasion. The most informal are the daily sacrifices, which are often entrusted to one of the elder women of the family, while on the more important occasions the officiants are the head of the household and a Shinto or, more commonly, a Buddhist priest. The daily offerings may consist only of a lighted candle and incense, but sometimes they include raw rice or sake (Shinto), or flowers, or a cup of tea. These are presented (according to Shinto forms) with prostration and the clapping of hands, but with no words, or (according to Buddhist forms) with prostration accompanied by the utterance of some familiar Buddhist formula, such as *namu Amida butsu*. The monthly ceremonies,⁸ in which only the family and nearest relatives take part, are only a little more elaborate than the daily ones. The head of the household officiates, but the services of a priest are seldom required. To the rites performed in the "sacrificial years" a large number of descendants and relatives are invited, and the ceremonies are more elaborate. The ritual employed on both these occasions differs somewhat in the Shinto and Buddhist religions, and within Buddhism itself there are smaller variations. The usual Shinto offerings are cloth, raw rice, sake, game, fish, and branches of the *sakaki* tree. Cooked vegetables, flowers, and incense are the much commoner Buddhist offerings. The actual presentation of the food on a tray is performed by some woman of the household, and is regarded as simply a preparation for the subsequent ceremony. Then the senior male descendant

⁷ The list of these Buddhist years varies in the accounts given by different authors. The above reckoning is that given by Hozumi. The rites and ceremonies that occur during the first seven weeks after death are not here detailed, since they are to be classed rather as funeral rites than as ancestor worship proper.

⁸ If strict Shintoists do not have daily offerings, they will observe the new and full moons (first and fifteenth of the month) instead of the Buddhist monthly offering.

makes an incense offering as the first officiant, and subsequently, at intervals, other relatives make like offerings of incense. Finally (in most households) the Buddhist priest burns incense and recites portions of the sutras. When a Shinto priest officiates he begins with a reverent announcement to the ancestor as to who is present and for what purpose. Then follow certain *norito*, or ritual prayers, and supplication that the spirit may protect and watch over the family, and the assembled company proceed to partake of the food-offerings. The character of the prayers used by Buddhists for this family cult differ according to whether they are addressed to the newly deceased person or to those long dead. The former are known as *shin-botoke*, and to them no requests for supernatural favors are made. Indeed they are thought rather to need aid than to be able to give it. But to the *hotoke* — the souls of those long dead — prayers are offered such as these: "Vouchsafe that our family may be preserved, that we may enjoy long life without sorrow, that pestilence may not come nigh us, that our business may prosper," etc. The Buddhist assumption is that these long departed have attained to the rank of buddhahood with a resulting accession of power. Yet similar prayers are used by Shinto worshippers, such as petitions "that long peace may prevail," "that our house may forever remain fortunate," etc. On annual and even on monthly occasions, in addition to the domestic rites, Buddhists often employ their priests to perform similar services at the temples and at the graves.⁹

Beside the regular sacrifices at dates determined by the calendar, there are the "announcements" to ancestors, often accompanied by some simple offering and prayer. Upon any

⁹ In the detail of ritual — both as to times and as to forms — there is so much sectarian and local variety that only the essential facts are universally applicable. Details are described only as typical. For rites in general, see Feu Titsingh, Vol. II, pp. 40 ff.; Hozumi, pp. 55 ff., 65 ff.;

R. J. Kirby, 'Ancestral Worship in Japan,' T. A. S. J., Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. iv, pp. 234 ff., 255;

L. Hearn, Japan, pp. 49 ff.;

L. Hearn, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, Vol. II, pp. 407 ff.;

L. Hearn, Exotics and Retrospectives, Boston, 1898, pp. 112 f.;

A. H. Lay, Japanese Funeral Rites, T. A. S. J., Yokohama, 1891, Vol. XIX, Pt. iii, pp. 531, 541.

occasion of importance in the family, such as the birth of a child, promotion in office, the beginning or end of a long journey, or any event of signal good or evil fortune, the event is reverently announced to the ancestors either before the ancestral tablets or at the grave, or in both places.¹⁰ That this practice still prevails is shown by two interesting recent examples. In the records of the house-law of a certain count (dated about 1907) is the statement: "I hereby reverently report the establishment of this fundamental law of our family to the spirits of our ancestors," etc.¹¹ Again, in 1920, the father of the first wife of another Japanese count had recently been made a baron, and the count made a long journey in order to inform the ancestors of his first wife, at their place of burial, of this important item of family news.¹² In contrast with the Chinese custom, ordinary marriages in Japan are not performed before the ancestral tablets. But if the parents of the groom are dead, the bride must make obeisance before their tablets. Imperial marriages, however, are always announced to the ancestors.¹³

Finally, in addition to all the occasional rites, there are the great seasonal festivals celebrated in honor of all departed spirits. While these may not perhaps be strictly classified as ancestor worship in the narrower Confucian sense, they are directly concerned with the tendance of family ancestors, and similar celebrations are to be found in China.

In the past various days have been kept sacred to the souls of ancestors, but of most of these there is no longer any general observance.¹⁴ The present popular festivals, into which earlier celebrations may have been gradually absorbed, are the days of the spring and autumn equinoxes and the *Bon* festival in July.¹⁵ The equinoctial periods, occurring in the third and

¹⁰ Feu Titsingh, Vol. II, pp. 67 ff.; Hozumi, pp. 69 f.; Kirby, pp. 237 ff. (quoting Hirata).

¹¹ Hozumi, p. 125.

¹² J. and A. C. Dewey, *Letters from China and Japan*, New York, 1920, pp. 77 f.

¹³ L. Hearn, *Japan*, pp. 75 f.

¹⁴ H. Weipert, 'Das Bon-Fest,' *Mitt. d. deut. Gesell. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tokyo, 1899-1902, Vol. VIII, pp. 156 ff.; Kirby, pp. 261 f.

¹⁵ The New Year ceremonies include reverence before the ancestral tablets and the reading of Buddhist sutras with prayers. But the New Year is not primarily a season dedicated to the deceased.

ninth months and lasting in each case about seven days, are festival occasions called by the Buddhists *Higan*. At these times rites are performed in honor of the ancestors not only before the *ihai* but also at the tombs. Indeed, the special characteristic of these feasts is that all members of the family visit the graves to offer sacrifice and prayer.¹⁶

Most famous and popular of all the festivals associated with departed spirits is the *Bon* festival or *Urabon-ye*, the Japanese All Souls' Day. To the celebration of this feast are dedicated the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth days of the seventh month — the July of the old calendar. According to the modern reckoning of the Gregorian calendar the days fall at some time during the last half of August. Careful students of the history of the *Bon* festival regard it as the product of the gradual fusion of certain ancient rites and customs (perhaps associated with the *ujigami*, or clan ancestors) with Buddhist beliefs and practices.¹⁷ But, though many traces of Shinto factors may still be detected, the festival has long since grown to be essentially Buddhist in form and atmosphere, and is commonly referred to as the annual Buddhist Feast of All Souls.

The general belief to which the varied rites give expression is that on these days the souls of the departed revisit their old homes; and the object of the ceremonies is to give them a reverent and affectionate welcome. On the first day of the festival ordinary lanterns are hung at the gate or door of each house and special lanterns before the *butsu-dan* to guide the spirits homeward. Often, too, torches are set in the sand to show the way to those who come by sea, and evergreen sheds are sometimes prepared for the departed to rest in. Within the house the ancestral tablets are set out and the house-altar decorated. In the evening the souls of the dead are supposed to arrive and take up their abode in their tablets. Water to wash in awaits them at the door, and before the shrines are

¹⁶ Hozumi, p. 66;

B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 5th ed., London, 1905, pp. 159, 162;

C. Pfoundes, *Fu-so Mimi Bukuro*, Yokohama, 1875, p. 98;

J. J. Rein, *Japan* (translated), London, 1884, p. 433;

A. Lloyd, *Shinran and his Work*, Tokyo, 1910, p. 141.

¹⁷ For a full account of this research see H. Weipert, 'Das Bon-Fest.'

placed food-offerings of many kinds. These are renewed on each of the next three days so as to provide the ghostly visitors with a continuous feast. In this feasting (especially on the second day) the family have their share; and all members of the family gather from far and wide to enjoy it together, in something of the same holiday spirit which reunites our Western families on Christmas or Thanksgiving Day. During the festival days Buddhist priests visit the homes to recite sutras and offer prayers for the dead. Special services are held in the temples on behalf of "hungry ghosts" who have none to care for them. The graves, too, are visited by relatives, who clean and decorate the tombs and make offerings of flowers and incense, accompanied by prayer. Especially in country districts the custom still survives of holding dances at night in the open air. On the last night fires are lit among the tombs and on the hills, and figures of steeds made of straw are prepared to carry the dead back to their dwelling-places.¹⁸

Of memorable beauty is the custom of launching boats of straw with paper sails, each bearing an offering of food and lit by a lantern. Of these Lafcadio Hearn has written:

And ever upon the night of that sixteenth day, — whether the sea be calm or tumultuous, — all its surface shimmers with faint lights gliding out to the open, — the dim fires of the dead; and there is heard a murmuring of voices, like the murmuring of a city far off, — the indistinguishable speech of souls. . . . And the frail craft are launched on canal, lake, sea, or river, — each with a miniature lantern glowing at the prow, and incense burning at the stern. And if the night be fair, they voyage long. Down all the creeks and rivers and canals the phantom fleets go glimmering to the sea; and all the sea sparkles to the horizon with the lights of the dead, and the sea-wind is fragrant with incense.¹⁹

¹⁸ For accounts of the Bon Festival, see Harada, pp. 144 f.; Weipert, pp. 146 ff.; Lay, pp. 532 f.;

A. Lloyd, *Shinran*, pp. 141 f.;

A. Lloyd, *Every-Day Japan*, London, 1909, pp. 139 ff.;

J. W. R. Scott, *The Foundations of Japan*, New York, 1922, pp. 272 ff.;

R. Hildreth, *Japan as it Was and Is*, Boston, 1855, pp. 442 f.;

L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff., 131 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 505, 509 f.;

Mrs. Hugh Fraser, *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan*, London, 1899; Vol. II, pp. 313 f.;

S. Takashima, 'The Bon Festival,' *The Far East*, Vol. III, no. 30, July, 1898, pp. 562 ff.

¹⁹ L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II, p. 505, and Vol. I, pp. 109 f.

The meaning of Japanese ancestor worship — its inner significance — is even more difficult to determine than the meaning of Chinese ancestor worship. In China the problem is that of gauging the extent to which the beliefs of popular animism have been expurgated or sublimated by the more intellectual and less 'superstitious' influence of classical Confucianism — the former tending to treat ancestor worship as genuine worship, the latter to minimize the religious, and magnify the memorial, elements of the rites. In Japan, however, the observer has to deal not only with these two familiar elements but also with the powerful influence of Buddhism, which in Chinese ancestor worship is relatively inconspicuous. For in Japan both the rites and their interpretation are a blend of factors drawn from popular animism, from Confucianism, and from a highly adaptable and sympathetic form of Buddhism.

In common with other animistic peoples, the Japanese, in ancient times, believed that departed spirits continue to feel many of the wants and needs of the living and rely in some measure upon the living for comfort and support. The further belief prevailed, as elsewhere, that the dead have power to help or harm the living. It was natural, therefore, to assume that the attitude of departed spirits toward their surviving relatives is determined by the extent to which they are remembered and tended. Neglect is followed by marks of their disfavor, tendance by signs of their welcome support and aid. All the invisible spirits that people the world of animism (whom we think of vaguely as 'supernatural') were called by the Japanese *kami*, meaning 'the upper ones,' or 'the powers above.' And in this class of *kami* the Japanese loosely included the ghosts of the departed, though their distinction from the others may well have been felt. These are the fundamental beliefs that give, and have given, to ancestor worship its power and vitality; and among the majority of the Japanese people these beliefs survive to this day. Here then is one strand or factor in the meaning of ancestor worship.

Such primitive beliefs about ghosts in general result only in more or less irregular tendance of the dead, inspired largely by apprehension that the spirits may resent neglect. When, how-

ever, the family group becomes fully stabilized on a patriarchal basis, when the importance of the family is magnified, and when its stability and vitality inspire, as a normal result, family loyalty and family affection, the tendance of departed spirits becomes thoroughly domesticated, attains a traditional regularity, and forms the nucleus for other motives and emotions than the fear of evil or the desire for prosperity. Reverence, gratitude, and tenderness combine in that filial piety which gives meaning and permanence to the true family cult of ancestors. It was this stage which had been reached by the Chinese before the days of Confucius and finds full expression in the Chinese classics. Toward this fuller development the Japanese were no doubt making progress before the entrance of Chinese culture; but what their course of growth would have been without Chinese aid we can only conjecture. The historical fact is that the progress by which the family was stabilized and magnified was enormously accelerated by the absorption of Chinese civilization; and as part of the process went the gradual acceptance by the Japanese (with certain adaptations) of the forms and meanings of Chinese ancestor worship. The later and more conscious study and practice of Confucian principles during early Tokugawa times served to strengthen the Confucian interpretation.

These more advanced elements (involving regularity, the sense of family unity, and devout reverence for ancestors) operated to steady and enrich the more primitive beliefs, which they rather presuppose than supersede.²⁰ The result is a fusion or complex implying mixed motives and varied emphases. Hence the diverse meanings of the rites, varying with different classes and individuals, even varying, as circumstances change, within the same individual. Both in China and Japan we have of course the common motive of compliance with custom. Mere conformity, with no clear recognition of purpose, may even be considered the main motive of most of the Far

²⁰ Hirata, writing in the early nineteenth century, seeks to confirm his countrymen in their belief that the spirits of the dead surround their descendants, depend upon them for support and sustenance, and are able to bestow upon them blessings. See Mazelière, *Le Japon*, Paris, 1907, Vol. I, p. 156; Kirby, pp. 234 ff., 252 ff.

Eastern millions. But when we push the analysis farther than the driving force of custom, all sorts of different aims and emphases may readily be observed. They range all the way from a primitive animistic desire to please or propitiate the dead, expressed in offerings with prayers for material wants, up to an almost agnostic attitude from which the rites are viewed as a mere memorial, a solemn tribute of affectionate piety to the reverend figures of the past. Between these extremes are innumerable gradations, with filial piety as a constant factor, and with a subtle sense of the mutual dependence of living and dead as an element almost universal. The question, therefore, whether ancestor worship is true worship — whether it is religious in meaning — cannot be flatly answered. We can only say that in so far as it involves the belief that sacrifice and prayer to ancestors will produce benefits or avert harm to the living, it is a truly religious aspect of animism. In so far as the rites are viewed as a solemn memorial prompted by filial piety but including no appeal to the departed and no expectation of a *quid pro quo*, they are but partly religious or not religious at all.

The two factors of which we have here suggested the significance are the only factors of importance in China and still remain two of the most important elements in Japan. But a third strand is interwoven with them — the pervasive influence of Buddhism. The forms and meaning of ancestor worship had become definitely fixed in China long before the advent of Buddhism, so that the new religion has had relatively little effect upon them. But in Japan the influx of Chinese civilization, the rise of true ancestor worship, and the arrival of Buddhism were all so nearly contemporary that Buddhism could exert its force while the beliefs and customs connected with the ancestral rites were still in a plastic state. Buddhism has therefore supplied much of their form and feeling.

External signs of Buddhist influence appear in such outward forms as the *butsu-dan* — the 'Buddha-shelf,' on which tablets appear beside the images of Buddhist divinities, the tablets themselves with their lotus pedestals, the inscription of the Buddhist names of the deceased, and the duplicate tablets

preserved in Buddhist temples. The presence of Buddhist priests at family ceremonies, the recitation of the sutras, and the partly Buddhist character of such festivals as the *Higan* and the *Bon* are further evidence of this popular, though alien, element. Nor has it been possible for Buddhism to admit ancestor worship into its elastic system without affecting in less obvious ways the inner meaning and atmosphere of the ancestral rites. Buddhism, in the first place, could supply a definite picture of the future state of the departed. Its heavens and purgatories offered vivid pictures of a life beyond death which had hitherto been devoid of color or detail. So far as Buddhism was true to its own teachings, its tendency was to minimize the power of the dead to aid the living and to magnify the needs of the departed and the power of the priesthood to aid them. Its doctrines operated to encourage prayer offered for the dead rather than addressed to the dead.²¹ But with that invertebrate tolerance so characteristic of Mahayana Buddhism, it found a place for all the older beliefs; and if it did not call the ancestors *kami*, it conceded to them as *hotoke* the power to exercise "a calm tutelary protection over the living descendants."²² And the spirit of gentle charity, so essential in every type of Buddhism, permeated the rites with the atmosphere of affectionate tenderness, and colored them with compassion.²³

²¹ This tendency is especially marked in the powerful and popular Shin sect, which officially condemns the worship of any divinities or spirits other than the one supreme Buddha-Amida. All Shin-shu ceremonies concerned with the dead are supposed to take the form of thanksgiving or praise addressed to Amida.

²² Asakawa, p. 35.

²³ For comment on the meaning of Japanese ancestor worship see Harada, pp. 37 f.; Asakawa, p. 35; Hozumi, pp. 1 f., 8, 16; Mazelière, Vol. I, p. 156; Kirby, pp. 234 ff., 252 ff.; Scott, pp. 38, 61, 67;

Hearn, Japan, pp. 32 ff., 49 ff., 213 note, 221;

Hearn, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, Vol. II, pp. 412 ff.;

Hearn, Kokoro, Boston, 1896, pp. 268 ff., 282 ff.

Prof. E. Uno of the Shin sect of Buddhism has well summed up the three strands of Japanese ancestor worship in the statement that primitive Japan has supplied the emotional element, Confucianism the ethical support and interpretation, and Buddhism the definite revelation of the other world and the status of the dead, with the resulting shift of emphasis.

II. THE REVIVAL OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

ONE unexpected result of sixty years of Western civilization in Japan has been the revival of Buddhism. When the new era of Japanese progress began in the sixties of the last century, Buddhism was obviously declining. Though still powerful as the religion of the masses, it was intellectually sterile and apparently incapable of renewed vigor, either spiritual or practical. No great movement of reform, no access of energy, had marked its history for six hundred years. And when the restored imperial government disestablished Buddhism, its last hope seemed to vanish. But from that day to this Buddhism has enjoyed a new lease of life. Both intellectually and practically it is far more flourishing and active to-day than it was in 1860. Yet, strangely enough, it may be doubted whether its standing is higher and its influence greater than they were sixty years ago. The progress of Western thought and of Christianity has been so rapid and effective that relatively speaking Buddhism has probably made little, if any, advance. In other words, it has had to run fast in order to keep in the race at all, and only its revival has prevented its gradual disappearance as an important factor in the national life.

Though the present status of this remarkable process is our main concern, we must note a few of the earlier stages that preceded the quickened activity of to-day. Fortunately for Buddhism there was one sect, the Shin, whose principles were well adapted to a new career of progress. The Shin sect had long been both popular and adaptable; its doctrine was relatively simple; it had begun life as a reforming movement in 1224 and had ever since kept in close touch with the life of the people. Its main branches were the Nishi Hongwanji and the Higashi Hongwanji sects. The chief abbot of the former, Count Kozon Otani, a man of notable vigor and foresight, at once perceived the need of the hour, and as early as 1870 sent a mission of prominent scholars to Europe for study and investigation. For several years the mission conducted a survey of Western civilization and of the methods and activities of the Christian Church; and within a few years of its return a Nishi Hong-

wanji Council proceeded to formulate new policies and to adopt practical plans which have ever since determined the development of the Shin sect. The other branch of the Shin-shu, the Higashi Hongwanji sect, was prompt to follow the lead, and eventually, in varying degree according to their latent vitality and capacity, all the other leading sects have taken similar forward steps. Of this whole revival the contact of Japan with the West has of course been the enveloping cause, for since every other phase of Japanese life was being profoundly affected, Buddhism had either to make progress or perish. But the wisdom and initiative of a small group of leaders, most of them members of the Shin sect, were responsible for the promptness of the movement and the specific forms which it first took.

These visible forms were the publication of literature, the establishment of missions, and the promotion of modern education and social service. Since an account of any one of these lines of endeavor would require an essay for itself, we shall give but a brief summary of the more practical activities, while treating more fully the intellectual aspects of the revival.

Educational reform has followed at some distance the advances made by government institutions. One by one the different sects have established schools for boys and girls, and colleges and universities for more advanced students. In some cases old schools were made over, in others new ones founded. In every case the advance has proceeded slowly in the direction of modern methods and curriculum, with government schools as models and with government recognition as the goal. As a result of this process, begun two generations ago and greatly accelerated within the past fifteen years, there are now under Buddhist control some thirty middle schools (high schools) for boys and about fifteen girls' schools. The colleges, which are primarily theological schools, number eleven, and there are five universities recognized as such by the government. The sects which have the largest number of middle schools and whose universities are recognized by the government are the two Hongwanji sects, the Soto, the Nichiren, and the Jodo sects. The official standing of the higher institutions is evidence of the quality and range of the instruction offered; a study of

their curricula reveals the presence of most of the common university subjects with the exception of the natural sciences; and an acquaintance with their professors shows that a large proportion have had the best of Western education in Japan, while a smaller number have enjoyed the benefits of advanced training in Europe or America. To the stale and sleepy atmosphere which in 1860 enveloped the Buddhism of Japan no sharper contrast is possible than the present intellectual environment of the universities, where students are urged to read William James and Rhys Davids, and where they may listen to lectures by professors of anthropology who have studied in Paris and instructors in social ethics who have returned from California.

The development of modern forms of social service began much later than the educational reform; it has been largely an affair of the twentieth century; and much of it has taken shape within the past ten years. Under the general influence of Western example and of Japanese government enterprises, but above all with the especial stimulus of Christian missionary success in practical philanthropy, the Buddhist sects, with the Shin sect again in the lead, have now developed many types of social work. Orphanages and day nurseries, settlement-houses and employment agencies, dispensaries and alms-houses, reformatories and homes for ex-convicts, are increasing in number and efficiency. Work for prisoners is carried on by a staff of specially trained priests, and the income of several large funds is annually dispensed in charity. The probable permanence of such activity seems to be indicated by the fact that the Hongwanji sects already have social bureaus at their headquarters and offer courses of training for social workers. The best of such schools is managed by the Jodo sect.

The Hongwanji sects have likewise taken the lead in the promotion of missionary work. Most of this activity outside of Japan has begun since 1900, for it has followed in the wake of Japanese emigration. To-day the Nishi Hongwanji sect has twenty-eight temples and about twenty smaller stations in western North America — including Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, Salt Lake City, Denver, and many cities of California. Its temples in Hawaii are numerous, and others are to be found

in Korea, Formosa, and China. The Higashi Hongwanji, the Nichiren, the Soto, and the Jodo sects carry on little or no work in the United States, but all of them, as well as the Shingon, have temples in Hawaii, and most of them in Korea, Formosa, and China. Even to Siberia and Saghalien the Buddhist church has followed its members. As their location implies, these missions are almost wholly concerned with serving the needs of Japanese, and are almost entirely supported by Japanese emigrants. In twenty years or more only a few score Americans have ever shown any interest in the Oriental faith, though four or five have at different times become priests. The missions are not organized with the primary aim of reaching foreigners, and so far as the conversion of Christians is concerned, their effects have been negligible and are likely to remain so.

Though the educational, philanthropic, and missionary activities of Japanese Buddhism are the chief outward signs of revival, several others are important enough to deserve mention. Among these are the efforts of the temple priests to win and hold the people — especially the young people. Leaders of the larger sects are no longer content with a *laissez-faire* attitude, for they cannot afford to drift. Again with one eye on the vigorous methods of Christian missionaries, they are making ever greater use of preaching. In halls near their head temples in Kyoto, to which devotees flock from all Japan, the priests of the Hongwanji sects hold preaching services two or three times a day, with an average attendance of four or five hundred. At the Jodo head temple in Kyoto there is a daily sermon. Preaching at the Nichiren temples is somewhat less frequent, and the Shingon, Zen, and Tendai sects have so far made little use of this method of appeal. The reason for these differences is easy to see, for only the Shin, Jodo, and Nichiren sects have any evangelical interest or power; the whole temper of Zen is averse to popularization; the appeal of Shingon is liturgical; and Tendai is now too nearly defunct to show any appreciable signs of life. With the increasing emphasis upon preaching has gone the development of simple evangelistic services, as distinct as possible from the monastic liturgy, since the chanting of sutras in a meeting-hall makes a poor setting for

a popular sermon. In place of the traditional offices the Nishi Hongwanji has begun to hold Sunday services with hymn-singing accompanied by the organ.²⁴

As a part of this evangelistic work rather than of the educational system we may view the numerous Buddhist Sunday-schools. The Nishi Hongwanji sect claims to have about 2000 Sunday-schools with nearly 400,000 pupils; and while there is no reason to believe that these figures are accurate in a Western sense, they indicate at least a remarkable growth of this form of religious education. And at least three of the other sects are almost equally active in the attempt to reach and hold the children. The methods of the best Sunday-schools are strikingly, though not surprisingly, like our own. Hymn-books, picture-cards, story-books, blackboards, and charts are part of the standard equipment. The fact, however, that ping-pong sets and skipping ropes are likewise included in "teaching material" confirms the evidence supplied by observation that the children are more often amused than instructed and that very little religion, in the stricter sense, is taught. But the number of Christian Sunday-schools in which the children are not even amused makes criticism seem ungenerous. To hold the boys and girls who are too old for Sunday-school methods there are a growing number of Young Men's Buddhist Associations and Young Women's Buddhist Associations.

How far do all these practical changes represent a genuine intellectual and spiritual revival of Buddhism and how far are they merely mechanical additions? On the inner spiritual life of the more active modern Buddhists no foreign visitor may properly pass judgment. But as to their intellectual development an opinion is less venturesome. In the first place, the mere fact that far-reaching and effective changes have taken place in educational, social, and missionary endeavor is sufficient evidence of renewed mental activity and presumably of a zeal not altogether unspiritual. More closely associated, however, with a revival of Buddhist thought are the modern Buddhist associations and the active production of Buddhist

²⁴ The same sect has recently taken the advanced step of composing and using a marriage service. So far it is rarely called for.

literature. Among the associations recently organized is the Kakushu Rengokai or Interdenominational Association (1918). Though far more loosely knit, it corresponds in certain respects to our Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. Representing all the leading sects except the irreconcilable Nichiren, it speaks for the Buddhist church and the Buddhist community, especially in regard to public affairs or matters involving relations with the imperial government. During the past few years, for instance, it has been working to secure the passage of the new universal-suffrage bill; and on one recent occasion it combated successfully the proposal to receive at court a permanent papal envoy. Unlike the Federal Council, however, it has been indifferent to the promotion of social reform. It has had nothing to say about legalized prostitution or the desperate conditions under which women and children labor in factories. One of the latest and most interesting moves of the association is the calling of a Conference of Oriental Buddhists, in which China and Korea — and perhaps Ceylon, Burma, and Siam — will be represented. Of a more academic nature is the Association of Comparative Religion, a group composed largely of professors in the leading universities of Japan. Though Christian scholars are represented in its membership (more fully than Shintoists), its make-up is mainly Buddhist, and in the monthly journal which it publishes ("The Study of Religions") most of the articles are on Buddhist topics. The Taisho Tripitaka Publication Association was founded to publish a new edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. This edition, of which Professors Watanabe and Takakusu are the chief editors, will be larger and more scientific than its predecessors and will include not only a collation of the three previous editions published in Japan but also much additional material discovered by Aurel Stein and others. Already monthly volumes of a thousand pages each are being issued. The same association issues a monthly magazine in Japanese called "Modern Buddhism," in which leading scholars of most of the sects coöperate. A smaller organization of similar character is the Buddhist Mutual Aid Society founded in 1920 at Nagoya. With the aid of many wealthy members it aims to promote the production of Buddhist literature. Its immediate

concern is the publication of a Buddhist "Bible," now in process of editing by Professors Yamabe and Akanuma. This volume will consist of abridged selections from the Buddhist canon (especially the Mahayana sutras) translated into modern Japanese. The editors hope eventually to translate the same work into English.

The ambitious productions of these associations are merely outstanding examples of the sort of literature that is abundantly issued every year. The editing and publication of the complete works of all the great sectarian founders and earlier leaders of Japanese Buddhism and the compilation of large dictionaries of Buddhist terms and of sectarian "bibles" are the heavier tasks that have been in process for the last twenty years. But the most marked evidence of recent intellectual activity appears in the more popular literature designed to explain and interpret Buddhism in modern terms, for these new books far outnumber the translations and reproductions. Twenty-five years ago there was hardly a book to which an eager young mind with Western training could profitably turn. To-day there are almost too many books, and more people are now reading about Buddhism than ever before. Buddhist periodical literature is likewise increasing. Each college has its scholarly journal; popular magazines are issued in growing number, and even Buddhist newspapers, like the *Chugai Nippo*, reach a wide circle of readers. To aid in making this varied literature available, all the larger sects have publishing houses and book-stores.

Behind the activity of education and publication lies a genuine intellectual revival. Buddhist leaders with a modern mental equipment are re-thinking and re-stating the doctrines of their religion. The West has here been influential in two directions: it has provided the knowledge and the scientific method by which Buddhism can be assessed and expressed anew; and it has offered, in its own contrasting religion and philosophy, a kind of antithesis or foil in the presence of which Japanese Buddhism has been stimulated to a new self-consciousness, a new desire to understand itself and to present its case to the world. As a consequence, there is now a grouping of scholars into conservatives and liberals.

The application of Western scientific methods to Buddhist documents and doctrinal history has been one stimulus to thought and provides one occasion for divided opinion. Buddhism now has its 'higher criticism,' and knows already some of the difficulties that attend the results of that disturbing method. The dates of the Mahayana sutras are of course the sensitive spot for Japanese Buddhists. The Sukhavati sutras and the Saddharma Pundarika, for instance, purport to be the utterances of Gautama himself and have always been so regarded by devout believers. But modern criticism, while very uncertain in its results, places them not less than four or five hundred years after the death of Gautama and views them as the result of a long doctrinal evolution. To this verdict there was much opposition among Japanese scholars twenty or thirty years ago, but now that many of them have participated in the processes by which it was reached and many others have become assured of its validity, it is calmly accepted to-day by all the younger teachers. At universities like the Ryukoku and the Otani of the Shin sect the history of Buddhism and the general history of religions are taught in harmony with the results of recent investigation; and the dating of Buddhist documents has become no longer a matter of tradition but a question for research, in the pursuit of which Japanese scholars are doing their share. But groups of older scholars in all the sects remain unconverted. They regard the younger professors as rather heretical, and in presenting the material of sectarian history and doctrine (the subjects commonly left in their hands) they still give the old dates and legends and explanations. The conservatives are in a majority in such older sects as the Shingon and Tendai, but in the universities of the other sects the liberals are more numerous, and in every direction their influence is growing. Yet, however much Japanese students may differ in these matters, the higher criticism of sacred literature has never caused the excitement which still follows its progress in the West. And for the comparative calm with which it is viewed there are several good reasons. The fundamental explanation is that the whole historical process has no such religious meaning for Buddhism as it has for Christianity and Mohammedan-

ism. Nothing in history matters to the Buddhist as intensely as historical facts do to the Christian and the Moslem. Buddhists have never been taught to believe that a particular date or event was essential to the existence of their religion, still less that their scriptures were infallible. So the question of who wrote a book, and when, interests scholars alone; it is not a matter, as with us, that can affect personal religion. So far, then, as Buddhist literature and history are concerned, the controversy between science and tradition has been more or less academic. It may be only another way of stating the same thing to say that Buddhism more easily adapts itself to the dislocation of historical tradition because of its pantheistic tendency. If the Eternal Buddha of philosophy did not speak at this time through this man, then he spoke at another time through another man; and if at all times everywhere the supreme Amida or Vairocana or Dharmakaya is revealing himself, what do dates and documents matter? In the second place, the impact of science has not been explosive because Buddhists have usually been tolerant of differences. They have never had that passion for organization and discipline which has led the Christian West to its creeds and dogmas, nor with them has the will so surpassed the intellect in power as to produce the demand for uniformity or the expectation of infallibility. In consequence they do not become enraged with one another when occasions for disagreement arise. Furthermore several of the great sects have their own particular reasons for not allowing historical criticism to produce in them either antagonism or fear. The simplicity of Shin doctrine, with its one Supreme Buddha Amida and its belief in salvation by grace through faith in him alone, permits its teachers to view with calm a good deal of the ravage of science. Having already broken with much Buddhist tradition, they stand relatively secure. Still more serene are the devotees of Zen; for Zen is grounded in the belief that the Buddha is to be found in the heart alone, and for centuries it has taught that books and tradition are of no avail.

But the effect of historical science has not been the only force behind the intellectual revival of Buddhism. Western philosophy and religion have been playing their part in modifying

Buddhist theology. To some extent they have affected the presentation of Buddhism by Japanese to their own countrymen, and to a greater extent the presentation of Buddhism to audiences in the West. The former represents a genuine change; the latter is partly a matter of tact or tactics. In this sphere, as in the field of higher criticism, there are conservative and liberal tendencies. The more open minds are interested to study and absorb the teachings not only of other sects than their own but of other philosophies and religions, showing a receptivity that was characteristic of Buddhism in its best days. But there are still many others who prefer to find nourishment mainly in sectarian literature. One example of such divergent views arises from the problem — half historical, half philosophical — of the person of Hozo or Dharmakara. Hozo was the monk of whom the Larger Sukhavati-vyuha relates that having registered forty-six vows and accumulated merit through myriads of years he eventually became the Buddha Amida. For the majority of teachers in the Shin-shu, Hozo still remains an historical figure, a real man who lived so many “kalpas” ago; but for teachers of the modernist type he is now a mythological figure, in whose career, however, they find a valuable religious meaning. For them the story serves to indicate the factor of karma in the saving process of Amida. The issue may not be of vital consequence to believers, but, within the last two years, it has provoked a genuine controversy in the Higashi Hongwanji sect. In similar contrast, views are held concerning the meaning of the Pure Land or Western Paradise. Certain of the older teachers take quite literally the canonical descriptions of the paradise; for the more rational, the jewels and fragrant flowers are only symbols of the joys of union with the Buddha. In noting these varieties of interpretation, however, we may easily be misled. Through the entire range of Mahayana history there has run the distinction between the popular view and the philosophical view, the outward phenomenon and its inner meaning, the letter and the spirit, etc. And many of these points of controversy that may look like instances of a novel ‘fundamentalist-modernist’ cleavage, are merely old problems about which

teachers have always differed in accordance with their mental endowments. Yet it can safely be asserted that the influence of the West goes to weaken the literalists and to strengthen the philosophically minded. The position of the latter is of course the more secure, and from their ranks the modern liberals are recruited. Another problem for the Japanese liberal has been to make rational to the Westerner the doctrine of karma. Here a few of the looser thinkers have attempted to restate karma in terms of natural heredity. Our past selves then become our ancestors, and our future selves our descendants. But the wiser heads deprecate this effort as unhistorical and misleading, for whatever karma has meant or may mean, it is certainly not mere heredity. On a far higher level are the successful attempts of Professor Anesaki to state the more abstruse metaphysical doctrines in a form that shall make them comprehensible to the West. Taking full advantage of his thorough knowledge of Western philosophy and its terms, he not merely translates but re-states such doctrines as those of Tendai and Shingon in a fashion which readers of his "Nichiren" and "Buddhist Art" have found of unique value.

Anesaki, too, is the only Japanese who has succeeded in making modern Nichirenism at all palatable to the Western student, for the noteworthy revival and adaptation of the teachings of Nichiren have usually been voiced by far less competent teachers. Yet the movement as a whole offers a striking example with which to conclude this brief sketch of theological changes. As seen in the recent typical works of Kishio Satomi (several of which are in English), the New Nichirenism is a highly strained effort to bring to bear the religious ideals of Nichiren (1222-1282) upon every aspect of modern life — art, science, politics, and even war. Here, more than elsewhere, Buddhism seems not merely to have been touched both by purely Japanese and by Western ideals, but to have succumbed to them. Its gospel is markedly practical and nationalistic. "Religion must be woven into actual life." "The unit of salvation is the state." "We must strive to bring about a reconstruction of the world. . . . We offer Nichirenism and the Japanese national principles as the means to be considered by the nations." Utterances like

these suggest the aggressive tone of Nichiren himself; but they are chiefly interesting not as pointing the world to any genuine solution of its ills but as displaying once more the fact that Japanese Buddhists are generally far more Japanese than Buddhist.

Even a brief account of the modern revival of Japanese Buddhism serves to make several things clear. In practical affairs, such as education and social service, the effect of Western influence has been marked, since in this field the borrowing has been definite. In the sphere of doctrine the Buddhism taught by scholars to Japanese students has suffered certain specific changes in the historical data involved but very little change in the substance of the philosophy. A more distinct development, however, may be seen if we study the same Buddhism as expressed for Westerners. Perhaps even more notable is the transformation in Buddhism in popular preaching to the masses. Though we have not had space in which to describe it, we find here such terms as personality, character, service, and sacrifice employed in a sense increasingly Christian.

Partly as a result, partly as a cause of the Buddhist revival, there is widely observed, especially in the younger generation, an awakened idealism and a growing interest in religion. Far less enthusiasm is now manifested for the older type of materialism and skepticism represented by Herbert Spencer; far more general is the response to the stimulus of idealism in many forms — whether of the latest German philosophy, or of Christianity, or of the new Buddhism. Developing rapidly in such an atmosphere, the Buddhist revival, already accelerated, is likely to continue until far more radical changes have taken place than those we have here described.

III. A MODERN BUDDHIST UNIVERSITY

TO ONE who has studied Buddhism chiefly in books the notion of a Buddhist theological seminary suggests a peaceful monastery, with its meditation hall and dim-lit chapel, in which a few young students, robed as novices, sit at the feet of learned monks and absorb the contents of Sanskrit sutras. The picture at best presents an atmosphere of mental tranquillity and remoteness and at worst implies an environment of intellectual cobwebs. So when one discovers in real life a Japanese seminary overcrowded with a large number of rather lively students whose training includes a familiarity with the works of William James and Henry George and whose leisure hours give them time to enjoy baseball and glee-clubs, the phenomenon seems worth describing. The school to which I refer is the Ryukoku Daigaku, the university controlled by the Nishi Hongwanji branch of the Shin sect at Kyoto. It is only one of many, but as one of the most flourishing and progressive of them all it may stand as typical.

The Shin-shu — the most popular and adaptable of the sects of Japanese Buddhism — was founded in 1224 by Shinran. Four hundred and fifteen years later, in 1639, with the financial aid of a wealthy layman, the abbot of the Nishi Hongwanji temple at Kyoto built two houses close by the temple, and there opened a theological school, where a small group of students studied under the leadership of one teacher. The following year a summer-school was inaugurated which provided a two months' course of lectures on Buddhist doctrine. From that day to this, with only a few short breaks, both the regular school and the summer-school have continued to offer instruction. In 1655, on account of a heated doctrinal controversy, the school was closed by the government, but in 1688 its re-establishment was permitted. Once in the eighteenth and again in the nineteenth century all the buildings were destroyed by fire. Finally in 1877 the oldest of the present buildings — the first foreign-style structure in Kyoto — was erected. Thenceforward in material equipment, in curriculum, and in methods, the school has steadily expanded and made progress. In 1905, in con-

formity with government regulations, the authorities adopted the collegiate system, and in 1922 the college attained government recognition as a university, was formally incorporated, and assumed the title of Ryukoku Daigaku.

The university is maintained and administered by a corporation organized in accordance with the civil code and consisting of the Chief Abbot of the sect as president, several secretaries and auditors, and sixty representatives of the sect. The funds are supplied by the interest on a million-yen endowment given by the head temple and supplemented by private donations. The six main buildings of the establishment, surrounded by numerous smaller buildings, occupy ground close by the great Nishi Hongwanji temple in the southern part of Kyoto. Most of the structures are of an ugly Western type, with stucco exteriors and interiors somewhat bare and sparsely furnished. Three of the larger ones were formerly dormitories; but the growth of the college has compelled the use of all of them for instruction or administration, and the students now have to live in their own homes, in boarding-houses, and in temples. Though funds are not yet available, the authorities are planning to buy land in a more desirable and less congested quarter and to erect buildings sufficient to house all the students.

The university proclaims its aim to be "the mastery of Buddhism, the science of religion, philosophy, history, literature, and kindred subjects," and asserts that "the cultivation of character is constantly kept in mind." The requirements of admission and graduation and the curriculum of study will be of particular interest to Western students of Buddhism. The four main divisions of the Ryukoku Daigaku are the Preliminary Course, the College (or Regular) Course, the Special Course, and the Graduate Department. For admission either to the Preliminary Course or to the Special Course students must be graduates of some middle school (either governmental or private) — a type of school corresponding closely to our high school. For admission to the College Course the candidate must be a graduate of the Preparatory Course or of some government or private higher school. Students in the graduate department are chosen from the graduates of the College

Course. For the year ending in March 1925, the students in the Preparatory Course numbered 240, in the Regular Course 241, in the Special Course 119, and in the Graduate Department 15.

The Preparatory Course of three years offers instruction in English, French, German, the Japanese and Chinese classics, history, geography, psychology, ethics, logic, philosophy, mathematics, and natural science. The Special Course, lasting for either one year or three years, consists largely of Buddhist doctrine. It aims to offer a short path by which young graduates of a middle school may pass as directly as possible to the priesthood. The standard course, however, which leads to the degree and which is of most interest to students of modern Buddhism, is the Regular, or College, Course. The chief subjects taught in this course of three years are as follows: (1) doctrine of Buddhism, (2) doctrine of the Shin sect, (3) history of Buddhism, (4) outline of the science of religion and outline of the history of religion, (5) history of European philosophy, (6) psychology, (7) ethics, (8) pedagogy, (9) sociology, (10) history of Indian philosophy and literature, (11) history of Chinese philosophy and literature, (12) history of Japan and of the Japanese classics, and (13) history of European literature. Each student is required to make a special study of one of these subjects (numbers 6, 7, and 8 being excepted). This is the only choice that is permitted him, for within each of these subjects a required course is mapped out, somewhat on the "concentration and distribution" plan, with certain courses required in the subject itself and all the other courses distributed among the remaining departments, as well as among certain other departments which are known as "additional subjects." These include aesthetics and the history of aesthetics, the science of languages, the history of the Orient, the history of the Occident, political economy, anthropology, and such foreign languages as English, French, German, Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. From the list of subjects already named it will be seen that the Ryukoku Daigaku offers about one third of the subjects taught at Harvard, and that the most notable gap is one that might have been expected — the omission of all the natural sciences.

The amount of work prescribed consists of twenty-four "units," a "unit" being two hours of lectures a week for a year. Although this makes an average of sixteen hours of lectures a week for each of the three years, Japanese students are such willing victims of the lecture system that many of them are able to complete the twenty-four units in two years, at the rate of twenty-four hours a week of lectures, and to devote much of the last year to work on their graduation thesis. Most of the instruction takes the form of lectures, but in courses, for instance, which are concerned with language-study or the exegesis of Buddhist texts the recitation method is naturally adopted. The post-graduate course extends over three years, includes advanced work in some one field, and requires the preparation of a thesis.

It is perhaps not quite fair to refer to this university as a theological seminary, for though its main purpose is to train priests, it admits an increasing number of students who are not preparing for the priesthood. But all of the students in the Special Course and a majority in the College Course are either already priests or intend to be candidates for ordination. The large number of students already ordained is due to the custom of ordaining boys sometimes as early as nine years of age and frequently as early as eighteen. Most of these juvenile priests are the sons of priests and expect to inherit their fathers' 'cures.' About one third of the students at Ryukoku and at Otani (the university of the Higashi Hongwanji sect) are of this class.

The regular faculty of thirty-eight professors is supplemented by fifty-three part-time lecturers, most of whom come from the Imperial University of Kyoto. The members of the faculty, all of whom are priests of the Nishi Hongwanji sect, are men of very varied types. Some of the older teachers, especially those who give instruction in sectarian doctrine, are but little touched by Western thought and maintain a conservative attitude toward their subjects. Most of the professors, however, have had a thoroughly modern education, and several have enjoyed prolonged training in the universities of America, England, France, and Germany. These younger men, familiar with the literature of their chosen fields in English, French, and Ger-

man, present such subjects as Early Buddhism and the history of religion quite in accordance with the scientific standards of to-day. The intellectual atmosphere in which they study and teach may be appreciated by a glance at some of the books in the university library, many of which are arranged by departments in the offices of the instructors. On the shelves of the professor of anthropology, for example, one remarks such diverse works as these: Nassau's "Fetichism in West Africa," Jane Harrison's "Themis," G. F. Moore's "History of Religions," Rufus Jones's "Studies in Mystical Religion," Dixon's "Racial History of Man," Magnin's "Origines du Théâtre Antique," and Tscherkoff's "Der Mensch." In the office of the professor of Buddhist literature is to be found the best collection in Japan of Western books on Buddhism, with a hundred and twenty-five titles of English works alone. Here are such familiar volumes as Windisch's "Mara und Buddha," Keith's "Buddhist Philosophy," DeGroot's "Le Code du Mahayana en Chine," and Warren's "Buddhism in Translation." Next door, in the department of the history of religions, the variety is still more notable: Santayana's "Life of Reason," Wellhausen's "Reste arabischen Heidentums," Otto's "Das Heilige," Brightman's "Liturgies, Eastern and Western," Callaway's "Religious System of the Amazulu," and the works of Cyprian and Tertullian in Latin. (For the most striking contrast, however, one must inspect the library of the Soto sect university, where I saw within a foot of each other the Sadharma Pundarika and Studdert-Kennedy's "Lies"!)

Fellowship among members of the faculty is furthered not only by their regular fortnightly business meetings and unofficial department meetings, but also by departmental research-clubs or seminars composed of professors and advanced students who meet monthly for discussion. Another valuable faculty organization is the Association for the Publication of Buddhist Literature in European Languages. In this series have already been published "The Influence of Buddhism on Japanese National Ideals" by Professor Jisoji and a translation into English of the Chinese text of the Shorter Sukhavati-vyuha by Professor Utsuki.

Despite the lack of college dormitories the social life of the students is active and highly organized. Those 'interests and activities' which in America vie so successfully with the interests of education and the activities of study, are familiar in Kyoto. Most of the numerous clubs (which meet in university buildings, tea-houses, hotels, or the students' own rooms) are organized as departments of a general Student Association. Each club has a faculty adviser as guide. There are, for instance, four religious clubs which meet for the discussion of religious problems or of current topics. A Sunday-school department conducts Sunday-schools in different parts of Kyoto. Another department publishes two student magazines, one of a scientific, the other of a popular, nature. Several music clubs and an orchestra constitute the music department. And still other interests are represented by the poetry club, the debating club, and the art club. Yet more varied are the athletic activities — jiu-jitsu, wrestling, fencing, archery, riding, rowing, tennis, and baseball. In baseball and tennis especially the university teams compete with other colleges, including the Otani University of the Higashi Hongwanji sect. Sectarian rivalry thus takes a novel form, the spectacle of which would no doubt prove baffling to some of the mediaeval founders.

Opportunities for intercourse between teachers and students outside the class-room, while not very numerous, seem as adequate as in many American colleges. The faculty advisers of the clubs, faculty participation in the student magazines and in the research-seminars, and large monthly meetings in the assembly hall with addresses by the professors — these afford many chances for fellowship and coöperation.

Colleges of the same type as Ryukoku (recognized by the government as universities) are supported by the Higashi Hongwanji, the Soto, the Jodo, and the Nichiren sects. A new union university, in which three of the sects combine, has just been opened at Tokyo. The smaller colleges of the Rinzaï and Shingon sects, however, are of inferior quality. But all are significant of that revival of Japanese Buddhism which began fifty years ago and has displayed special activity in the last ten years. They are symptomatic of the general effort to adapt and

modernize Buddhism, of which other signs appear in the social-service work, the publication of new literature, the promotion of Sunday-schools, and the restatement of ancient doctrines. How far it is possible for Buddhism to survive this process and still remain true Buddhism, and how far it may yet regain something of its former hold upon the Japanese people, are problems which we must look to the future to solve.

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HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE *

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THE long-accepted theory that Hebrew literature is largely the product of Babylonian influences is now discredited, both because of the unquestionable originality of Hebrew thought, in general, and in particular because the use of cuneiform models and materials is recognized to have been greatly overrated. Eventually Amurru or Khatti or Caphtor may be found to have made important contributions in the intellectual realm, as they have in the material, but at present the most powerful antidote for Pan-babylonianism is to be found in Egypt. Not that the view is returning which once prevailed among the Greeks, that all culture and wisdom came from the valley of the Nile, but the extent and importance of its influence, especially in Palestine, is becoming more and more evident.

For some years the dependence of the Hebrew prophets and apocalypists upon Egyptian seers has been urged by Egyptologists, notably by Eduard Meyer. From the side of biblical scholarship the suggestion has not been received with unanimous approval. Sellin, for example, argues that while many close analogies to details of Hebrew apocalyptic are to be discovered in both Babylonia and Egypt, Hebrew eschatology in its origin and essential character is so different from that of the neighboring nations that borrowing by the Hebrews or even direct influence upon them in this department by other mythologies is out of the question.¹ So A. S. Peake finds the evidence for Egyptian influence inconclusive.² Hölscher can detect in ancient Egypt no trace of the religious ecstasy which he be-

* In the present article the term 'apocalyptic' is used in the sense explained below, on p. 368.

¹ *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 144-148, 164-167, 172-183, 228-237.

² *Journal Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, X (1923), pp. 8 f.

lieves to be the original basis of Hebrew prophecy; and therefore Egypt can have made no contribution to the beginnings and development of this prophecy.³ Likewise, according to Hölcher, the *form* of ancient, that is pre-exilic, Hebrew prophecy owes nothing to Egypt. The literary scheme which makes promises of salvation follow upon threats of punishment does not belong to the earlier prophets, and in any case is to be explained from a natural effort to neutralize the unwholesome magical effect of curses by attaching to them counteracting blessings. The absence in other directions of any considerable evidence of Egyptian influence upon pre-exilic Israel makes the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the literary form of Hebrew prophecy highly improbable.⁴

Hölcher admits that when, after the exile, influential Jewish communities arose in Egypt, the situation was quite different, and hellenistic Jewish literature shows how important Egyptian influence was in post-exilic times. The literary form of Hebrew prophetic literature as revised in this period, as well as that of the Jewish apocalypses and Sibylline Oracles, is therefore to be regarded as in part due to suggestions from Egypt.⁵

On the other hand J. M. P. Smith, accepting the theory that Yahweh worship was introduced from the south by the Judah clans fresh from the Egyptian sphere of influence, and made its way only gradually and imperfectly into northern Palestine, which had been colonized by the Israelite tribes centuries earlier, is ready to adopt Meyer's hypothesis almost completely. He finds closer resemblances between the prophets of Israel and of Egypt than between Israel and any other ancient nation, and believes that Amos and his successors may owe their highly developed literary technique, though not their lofty moral and religious ideas, to their Egyptian predecessors.⁶

³ Die Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 140 ff., 130 f.

⁴ Hölcher, pp. 457 ff.

⁵ Hölcher, pp. 458 ff.

⁶ 'Southern Influences upon Hebrew Prophecy,' Am. Journal of Semitic Lang. and Lit., 35 (1918), 1-19, esp. p. 8, and 'The Prophet and His Problems,' Chicago, 1914, pp. 16-35.

Gressmann, who had already indicated the borrowings of Hebrew eschatology from many fields,⁷ has also accepted the view that Egypt made important contributions.⁸ Nathaniel Schmidt, while expressing astonishment that so little has so far been discovered in other literatures analogous to Jewish eschatology, nevertheless believes that more will come to light in the future to "give a firmer foundation for theories of foreign influence."⁹

In view of this difference of opinion and of the far-reaching consequences of the hypothesis of Hebrew borrowing from Egypt, the subject invites study. New evidence is coming to light, as Schmidt anticipated. So far as I know, the available material has not been collected in any one place, and its weight, therefore, has not been carefully ascertained; nor have the critical and historical conclusions which follow been fully drawn. The present paper is an attempt to gather the evidence, so far as it is accessible to one who is not an Egyptologist, and to indicate its bearing upon some of the problems of Hebrew and Christian apocalyptic.¹⁰

I. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

When an hypothesis of the borrowing of literary forms or ideas is in question, it is essential first of all to determine the general conditions which render the theory possible or probable. On *a priori* grounds there is good reason to assume that the Hebrews would be directly influenced in every aspect of civilization by their neighbors on the south, who had reached a high

⁷ Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1905.

⁸ Gressmann-Ranke, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum A. T.*, Tübingen, 1909, I, 204-210, and *Am. Journal of Theology*, XVII (1913), 191 ff.

⁹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 41 (1922), 109.

¹⁰ The fullest discussions known to me are those by J. M. P. Smith, see above. Unfortunately neither Petrie (*Egypt and Israel*, London, 1911) nor Peet (*Egypt and the Old Testament*, Liverpool, 1922) refers to the question. The full collection of materials in G. A. F. Knight, *Nile and Jordan, being the Archaeological and Historical Inter-relations between Egypt and Canaan from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70*, London, 1921, lacks critical scholarship; see review by Jacob Hoschander, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. XV (1924), 123-132. An excellent article is A. B. Mace, 'The Influence of Egypt on Hebrew Literature,' *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Univ. of Liverpool, IX (1922), 3-26.

state of culture three thousand years before the founding of the Hebrew monarchy. There was no lack of points of contact. The "oldest road in the world" leads from Qantarah to Raphia, approximately along the line of the new railway from Egypt to Palestine.¹¹ Egyptian tradition, for example the myth of the finding of Osiris' body at Byblos, Egyptian historical documents, such as (for the earliest period) the Palermo stone and Sahure's relief,¹² and innumerable archaeological discoveries in Syria and Palestine testify to constant intercourse between Egypt and Syria beginning long before 3000 B.C. The latest excavations, by the French at Jebel (Byblos) and the Americans at Beisân,¹³ have augmented the evidence. Asiatics were constantly entering Egypt as ambassadors, merchants, robbers, refugees, and in two important early periods as conquerors. Egyptians, like Sinuhe and Wenamon, were likewise travelling in Palestine. Beginning with the third and fourth dynasties, there is evidence for numerous military raids. Under the twelfth dynasty the Egyptians probably ruled part of Palestine, and beginning with the Empire there was a long period of actual occupation. The letter of Hori indicates that a full knowledge of Palestine was regarded as an essential element in the Egyptian scribe's equipment.¹⁴ In the Negeb an Egyptian military and trading outpost or dependency may have been almost constantly maintained down to the period of Assyrian conquest in the days of Hezekiah.¹⁵ Most important of all for the problems under discussion is the fact that archaeological evidence points to the period of the development of Hebrew literature and religion from the tenth to the seventh century as one of active intercourse.¹⁶

¹¹ Gardiner, JEA, VI, 99. In the present article, the following abbreviations are used: CAH, Cambridge Ancient History; JBL, Journal of Biblical Literature; JEA, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology; RTAE, Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, New York, 1912; SBA, Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy.

¹² Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago, 1906, I, 146; History of the Ancient Egyptians, New York, 1908, pp. 27, 114 f.

¹³ See Syria, vols. II, III, and IV; Comptes Rendus, beginning 1921; Revue Biblique, 34 (1925), 161-193; Museum Journal, beginning 1921.

¹⁴ Peet in CAH, II, 225; Cook, *ibid.*, 326 f.

¹⁵ Albright, in Journal Palestine Oriental Society, IV (1924), 147 f.

¹⁶ Hogarth, JEA, I, 13-16.

Hebrew traditions and historical documents are equally explicit in regard to the connections between Israel and Egypt. The stories of the visits of the nomadic patriarchs, of the sojourn of at least a part of the ancestors of the Hebrews in Egypt, of Egyptian intrigues and influence in Hebrew politics from Solomon to Zedekiah, are confirmed in general, if not in detail, by numerous Egyptian documents.¹⁷ The Elephantine papyri show that there were Jewish colonies in Egypt beginning in the sixth, possibly in the seventh, century. With Alexander and the Ptolemies, Palestine and Egypt enter upon a new period of close intercourse, when the art of the Sidonian colony at Marisa and the archives of Zenon supplement and freshly illuminate the fragmentary but by no means colorless records of Josephus.

The Hebrew historical traditions abundantly confirm the archaeological evidence that the period of the monarchy and the prophets was one in which Egyptian influence was strong in Palestine. Moreover Egyptian connections were naturally closest in the south, where Hebrew prophecy originated and reached its greatest heights.¹⁸ The second period of close intercourse with Egypt coincides with the beginnings of the apocalyptic era in Judaism.

In spite of all the Hebrews' opportunities to borrow from their mighty neighbor to the south, it has looked as if nothing of the sort had taken place. Only a little over a decade ago Erman said that "no trace of the beliefs and ideas of the Egyptians had as yet been discovered in the views of the Jewish people";¹⁹ and Hölscher, that "the religious concepts and usages of ancient Israel nowhere betray traces of Egyptian influence."²⁰

¹⁷ The recently discovered account of the fall of Nineveh shows that the part which Egypt played in Asiatic politics in the seventh century was different from what had been supposed, and was probably greater; C. J. Gadd, 'Fall of Nineveh,' *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1923, summarized in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, p. 58; *Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1924, pp. 157 f.; J. M. P. Smith, *The Prophets and their Times*, Chicago, 1925, pp. 122 f.

¹⁸ See the article of J. M. P. Smith, already cited, *AJSL*, 35, pp. 1-19. Even Hölscher, *Die Propheten*, p. 459, n. 1, admits "alte Beziehungen der Südstämmen zu Ägypten."

¹⁹ *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, iii. 1, *Die Religionen des Orients*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1913, p. 40.

²⁰ *Die Propheten*, p. 459.

If borrowing took place, how has it so long escaped notice? Various explanations may be given for the apparent paucity of hieroglyphic parallels to the literature and religion of the Hebrews. National psychological differences have led to the preservation of different materials in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. Chance has played its part. It was little more than good luck that enabled Rassam to give Ashur-bani-pal's library to the world at the beginning of the study of Assyrian, and that put the deluge-tablet into the hands of George Smith. It is to be expected that Israel should, on the whole, have more in common with Semitic-speaking Babylonia, which gave its laws, letters, and legends to all western Asia. One weighty factor is the self-centeredness of Egyptian civilization. The dwellers on the Nile were never remarkable as merchants or colonists, nor for long periods as conquerors. The peculiar physiography of the Nile Valley made it a land apart. Another powerful deterrent to the spread of Egyptian ideas was the peculiar language and difficult hieroglyphs in which they were expressed.

The hindrances, however, to the spread of Egyptian culture were not so real as they seem. Egyptian light and learning were not propagated in other lands by Egyptian 'missionaries,' to be sure, but they were carried by foreigners who learned in Egypt and returned to their native lands as teachers. Men such as Dudu and Yankhamu of the Amarna letters, Semites who held high positions in Egypt, must have been found there in all ages and must eventually have carried much of Egyptian wisdom to their own peoples. But by this process of transmission the light was slightly but surely altered. Translation, also, into a different vocabulary and strange idioms served to disguise the borrowing. Making due allowance, then, for the manner of Egypt's contribution to Israel, one can understand how the evidence for it came to be overlooked and can recognize its limitations without denying the fact.

II. HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

The fact that the Hebrews borrowed from Egyptian literature can no longer be denied. The mass of evidence is cumulative in effect, and certain of the individual items are decisive. Very striking are the resemblances between the Song of Songs and Egyptian 'love-poetry,'²¹ while some have regarded the 'Dialogue of the Man-weary-of-life with his Soul' as a counterpart of Job. There are too many ancient and modern parallels to the Song of Songs for the likenesses to prove literary connection.²² The literature of pessimism is likewise large, and the Dialogue and Job are not of the same piece, although a similar tone often appears. Both alleged parallels merely prove the general likeness between Egyptian and Hebrew modes of thinking under similar situations.

The case is otherwise with the accounts of the sojourn in Egypt and the exodus. Egyptian coloring is here demanded by the circumstances, but the character of the coloring is significant. The common *motif* of the faithless wife and the tempted youth may come from Egyptian or Semitic tradition, or from life. The notable fact about the whole account of the descent into Egypt, the sojourn there, and the exodus is that, as the latest research abundantly proves, its local color is either general, that is, true of Egypt in any age, or else belongs, not to the period of the Hyksos and the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, but to the time of the Hebrew monarchy, when the histories of J and E were compiled.²³ Whatever may be the historical basis for the stories of the sojourn and exodus, their local color has not been handed down by accurate oral tradition, but is the product of the knowledge of Egypt that an in-

²¹ See G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 3d ed., 1920, pp. 413-416.

²² See Barton, pp. 464 ff., 'A Babylonian Song of Songs'; St. H. Stephan, 'Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs,' *Studies in Pal. Customs and Folklore*, III, Jerusalem, 1923 (*Journal Pal. Or. Soc.*, II, 199-278); W. W. Hyde, 'Greek Analogies to the Song of Songs,' in *The Song of Songs: a Symposium*, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 31-42.

²³ See the full discussion of Peet, *Egypt and the O. T.*, pp. 91-104. The decisive evidence is to be found in the personal and geographical names, which for the most part belong to the XXI and XXII dynasties.

telligent and observing Hebrew could acquire by visiting the Nile valley in the ninth century. It thus becomes another piece of evidence for the close relations between the two peoples in the period when Hebrew prophecy was beginning to take shape.

The similarities between certain passages in Hebrew and Egyptian literature carry us somewhat farther. Gressmann points to one between the Maxims of Amen-em-ope and Jeremiah. The passage in the Maxims runs thus:

As for the hot-headed man in the temple,
 He is like a tree planted in the forest (courtyard: B).
 In a moment it loses its twigs,
 And finds its end at the harbor-side (?).
 It floats away far from its place,
 And the fire is its grave.

But the true silent one, seated at one side,
 Is like a tree that grows in a garden;
 It grows green and doubles its fruit,
 And stands before the face of its lord.
 Its fruit is sweet and its shadow is pleasant,
 And it finds its end in its garden.²⁴

The same idea appears in the first Psalm, but with a much less effective comparison, that between tree and chaff. Jeremiah (17, 5-8), in his contrast between the man who trusts in man and him who trusts in Yahweh, uses exactly this Egyptian comparison, merely translating it into terms of Palestinian geography and economics. That he used an Egyptian model is out of the question; the differences are too numerous. But that the Hebrew prophet and the Egyptian wise man lived in much the same world is abundantly evident. It seems to me, moreover, that Gressmann goes too far in contrasting the "purely secular (*rein profan*)" character of the thought of the Egyptian writer with the reference of Jeremiah to "Frommen und Gottlosen im spezifisch prophetischen Sinne: den, der sich auf Gott verlässt, und den, der auf Menschen vertraut."²⁵ "Der

²⁴ Following the translation in Gressmann, 'Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope,' Zeitschr. f. d. Alttest. Wissenschaft, 42 (N. F. I), 1924, 280, compared with that of Budge, The Teaching of Amen-em-apt, London, 1924, p. 148.

²⁵ Op. cit., p. 284.

Heisse" is showing his heat "in the temple," while "the true silent one," if the contrast may be supposed to be sharply drawn, must also be in the temple (not, with Budge, "by the side of the road"), sitting quietly at one side and praying in silence. Certainly there is the closest resemblance between the prophetic ideal of the trust in Yahweh of the poor and distressed righteous man, the Psalmist's conception of the 'quiet in the land,' and the 'religion of the poor' in the later Egyptian Empire which addressed Amon as "the Lord of him that is silent, who comes at the voice of the humble man."²⁶ Another Egyptian worshipper addresses his god in truly biblical terms: "Thou sweet well for him who thirsteth in the desert; it is closed to him who speaks, but it is open to the silent. When he who is silent comes, lo, he finds the well."²⁷ Again, the great Lord of Thebes is the 'good shepherd': "O Amon, thou herdsman bringing forth the herds in the morning, leading the suffering to pasture . . . herding him that leans upon him . . . O Amon-Re, I love thee and I have filled my heart with thee. . . . Thou wilt rescue me out of the mouth of men in the days when they speak lies. . . ." ²⁸ The deep piety, the calm mysticism, the trustful confidence of the hymns of the 'age of personal piety' in Egypt offer numerous other parallels in both religious and ethical ideas to the Psalms of Israel, so many of which come from a similar age of national weakness and religious sacerdotalism.²⁹

The protestations of innocence that are not infrequently found in the Psalms have almost innumerable parallels in the asseverations of rectitude in the tomb-inscriptions of Egypt's noblemen and in the 'Negative Confession,' better called the 'affirmation of innocence.' Still closer, both in form and content, to the Egyptian documents, is Job's assertion of his innocence. The Egyptian parallels seem to me much closer than are to be found in the Babylonian cult-hymns or 'penitential

²⁶ See Gunn, JEA, III, 83 ff.; Breasted, RTAE, 350 ff.

²⁷ Papyrus Sallier, I, 8, 2-3; Breasted, RTAE, p. 356.

²⁸ Brit. Mus. Ostrakon, No. 5656; Breasted, RTAE, p. 355.

²⁹ See Breasted, RTAE, pp. 344-357; Gunn, JEA, III, pp. 81-94; Kittel, Die Psalmen (Sellin's Kommentar zum A. T. XIII), pp. xxviii ff.

psalms.' ³⁰ All these resemblances between passages in Hebrew and Egyptian literature may be understood as the natural expression of human feelings under similar historical and social situations. They are, be it noted, based on a similar conception of the world and on like religious presuppositions.

More difficult to explain is the striking resemblance between Ikhnaton's hymn to Aton and Psalm 104. Although ideas analogous to those that appear in these two documents are not uncommon in other religious literatures, wherever man has risen to the conception of one great, benevolent creator and ruler in the heavens, the parallelisms between the two hymns in question both in ideas and in their sequence are so great as to suggest borrowing on one side or the other, and since the hymn to Aton was inscribed on the Amarna tombs centuries before the founding of the Hebrew monarchy, there can be no question as to the side on which the dependence lies.³¹ How the hymns of the Aton ritual, no longer sung after the failure of Ikhnaton's reformation, and buried in the tombs of his nobles about his deserted capital, came to be known to the Hebrews we can only guess. Possibly this great hymn, with other features of the Aton cult,³² was taken over by worshippers of Amon and we may yet find a form of it still closer to the Hebrew Psalm.

The probabilities that the Aton hymn and other features of Egyptian religion were directly borrowed by the Hebrews are greatly enhanced by the recent discovery of the translation of an Egyptian book of 'admonitions' in one section of the Book of Proverbs. The publication of the 'Maxims of Amen-em-ope (Amen-em-apt)' and the conclusive demonstration that it has been copied in part by the author of Proverbs 22, 17-24, 22 are

³⁰ See Ps. 17, 1-6; 18, 21 ff.; 26, and Kittel ad loc.; Job 31, 5-40. Kittel cites Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte u. Bilder*, I, 92, for a Babylonian parallel. Surely he would have done better to turn to Egypt. See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906, I, pp. 252 f., sec. 523, RTAE, p. 248 and pp. 299 ff., and Knight, *Nile and Jordan*, chap. XXVIII.

³¹ See Breasted, *Hist. Anc. Egyptians*, pp. 273-277; *Hist. of Egypt*, 2d ed., New York, 1916, 371-376; or Arthur Weigall, *Life and Times of Akhnaton Pharaoh of Egypt*, rev. ed., 1923, pp. 134 ff. Weigall considers the possibility that both are derived from some Syrian source and decides for the originality of Ikhnaton's authorship.

³² See Breasted, RTAE, pp. 346 ff.

very significant events.³³ Erman, who first called attention to the importance of the parallels, concluded that in Saitic or Persian times a Hebrew living in Egypt had translated Amen-em-ope into Hebrew or Aramaic, and that from this translation excerpts were introduced into the Book of Proverbs.³⁴ Gressmann, after printing the parallels which show that the section of Proverbs under discussion is taken almost bodily from Amen-em-ope, argues that this third collection of the book "rests, if not on Amen-em-ope alone, at least upon it and other predecessors," among which are to be included an Akhikar booklet, and that therefore it must have been produced in the Assyro-Egyptian period, that is during the later Hebrew monarchy.³⁵

III. EGYPTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

In view of the evidence above cited, which proves that the Hebrews not only shared many of the ideas and ideals of the Egyptians but also actually borrowed from their literature, the hypothesis is not surprising that even Hebrew prophecy and apocalyptic have been deeply affected by Egyptian influence. One would perhaps expect such influences last of all in the type of literature in which the Hebrews have made their greatest contribution to the world, yet the parallels between the Sibylline denunciations of social evils and the ecstatic rhapsodies of Egyptian seers on the one hand, and the prophecies and apocalypses of the Hebrews on the other go far to substantiate the conclusions already suggested and form in themselves a most instructive study.

³³ Published by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri* in the British Museum, Series II, London, 1923, and again, with new translation accompanied by the translation of other Egyptian books of 'instructions' in *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt, Son of Kanekht*, London, 1924. See the article by Marion H. Dunsmore, 'An Egyptian Contribution to the Book of Proverbs,' *Journal of Religion*, V, 3 (May, 1925), pp. 300-308, where most of the literature is cited. Mr. Dunsmore evidently had not seen the more recent article of Gressmann when he completed his account.

³⁴ 'Eine ägyptische Quelle der Sprüche Salomos,' *SBA, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1924, pp. 86-93.

³⁵ *Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, 42 (N. F. 1), 1924, pp. 272-296.

If we may define 'apocalyptic' for our present purpose as a type of thinking and writing which criticizes present evils and promises future improvement, all under the guise of denunciations and predictions that are usually based upon supposedly supernatural visions and revelations, then all the canonical prophets and the pseudepigraphic apocalypses of the Hebrews are comprised in apocalyptic literature. Under this definition Egyptian documents dating from 2000 B.C. to 300 A.D. may be included. They are of two classes: (1) works which are indirectly apocalyptic in that they criticize contemporary society, but without prediction of improvement, and (2) works directly apocalyptic, combining denunciation with predictions of eventual betterment. They are to be regarded as the product of evil times, when society was in a state of confusion and instability due to the degeneracy or overthrow of native Egyptian government. Just as Hebrew prophecy blossomed in the days of the decline of the little monarchies and during the reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, when Assyria and Babylon were slowly strangling the national life, and just as the Jewish apocalypses are the product of the days of Macedonian and Roman oppression, so the Egyptian prophecies and apocalypses belong to two distinct periods and are of two different kinds.

The one great period of Egyptian social thinking comes apparently at the close of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the feudal age, or Middle Kingdom. The glories of the Old Kingdom had withered during the 'first interregnum' of the seventh to the tenth dynasty. The hated Asiatics had prevailed over the armies of Egypt. They had invaded its sacred territories, devastated its cities and palaces, and desecrated its tombs. The social order, which had seemed as firmly established as the pyramids, had failed to withstand the shock, even as the pyramids had failed to guard the bodies of the dead. As thoughtful Egyptians pondered on their broken pyramid-tombs and their shattered social institutions, a wave of pessimism swept over them. Out of this period of disillusionment and despair came a social awakening which the literature of the time brilliantly reflected.

To the documents from this period which can be described

as indirectly apocalyptic belong the pessimistic descriptions of the chaotic conditions prevailing during the interregnum before the twelfth dynasty. The 'Song of the Harper,' the 'Admonitions of Amen-em-het,' the 'Dialogue of the Man-weary-of-life with his Soul,' and the 'Searchings of Heart of Khekheperre-sonbu' reflect unmitigated despair. The facile epicureanism of the 'Song of the Harper' may be only the expression of agnosticism as to the future life. The pessimism of Amen-em-het may be merely the weariness of old age and the bitterness engendered by an attempt of trusted courtiers on the old man's life. But such can hardly be the explanation of the other arraignments of society that are found in the documents of this age. Following his repeated refrain, "To whom do I speak to-day?" the misanthrope, or man-weary-of-life, pictures the evils of his time in terse couplets which tell of evil brothers, false friends, universal thievery, and the prosperity of the bold-faced wrong-doer, while the gentle and peaceful righteous man is disregarded and destroyed.³⁶

Khekheperre-sonbu longed for

unknown utterances, sayings that are unfamiliar, even new speech that hath not occurred (before), free from repetitions, not the utterance of what has long passed, which the ancestors spake.

But he only repeats what has been the burden of prophet and moralist in all ages.³⁷ He complains:

Transformations go on, it is not like last year, one year is more burdensome than the next. . . . Righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the council-hall. The plans of the gods are violated, their dispositions are disregarded. . . . All men alike are under wrongs; as for respect, an end is made of it. The lords of quiet are disquieted. . . . Calamities come in to-day, to-morrow afflictions are not passed. . . . Nobody is free from evil; all men alike do it. Hearts are sorrowful. . . . The poor man has no strength to save himself from him that is stronger than he.³⁸

³⁶ Breasted, RTAE, pp. 193 f.; Berlin papyrus No. 3024, written in the Middle Kingdom.

³⁷ "The only touch of originality that the writer shows consists of the very words wherein he seems to cast doubt upon his powers in that respect," Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 110, where the document is published as an appendix, from Brit. Mus. Writing Board, No. 5645, written not later than the XXIII Dynasty, op. cit., p. 96.

³⁸ Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 95-110; Breasted, RTAE, 200 f.

A document that stands midway between this unrelieved pessimism and the apocalyptic hope of social regeneration is the 'Complaint of the Eloquent Peasant,' a rhetorical but serious composition. Contemplating the injustice done him, which gives the dramatic setting for his orations on social righteousness and unrighteousness, the peasant says to the high steward from whom he seeks redress:

Is it not wrong — a balance that tilts, a plummet that deflects — a straightforward man who is become a shirker? Behold, justice escapes from beneath thee, being expelled from its place; the magistrates make trouble; the norm of speech inclines to one side. . . . The measurer of the corn-heaps converts to his own use; he who should render full account to another filches his belongings; he who should rule according to the laws commands to rob. Who then shall redress evil?

In certain of the peasant's petitions there is a sudden and seemingly inconsistent transition from praise to blame. The third petition, for example, begins:

O high steward, my lord! Thou art Re, the lord of heaven, in company with thy courtiers. The sustenance of all mankind is from thee, even like the flood. . . . Restrain the robber; take counsel for the poor man; become not an inundation against the petitioner. Take heed to the approach of eternity.

And so he continues through line after line, concluding:

Thy tongue is the plummet, thy heart is the weight, thy two lips are its arms. If thou veil thy face against the violent, who then shall redress evil?

Then suddenly he changes his tone:

Behold, thou art a wretch of a washerman, one rapacious to damage a companion. . . . Behold, thou art a ferryman who conveys across him who has a fare; a straight-dealer whose straight-dealing is dubious. . . . Behold, thou art a hawk to the common folk; living upon the meanest of birds. Behold, thou art a purveyor whose joy is slaughter. . . .

The seventh petition begins:

Thou art the peer of Thought, judging without inclining to one side.

A moment later the peasant is crying out:

The subverter of law, the infringer of the norm, there is no poor man can live whom he pillages, if justice address him not. . . . Thy sluggishness will lead thee astray. Thy rapacity will befool thee. . . .³⁹

³⁹ Gardiner, JEA, IX, 11, 13 f., 18, a translation based upon a renewed study of the numerous papyri which contain the 'Complaint'; see also Breasted, RTAE, 216-226.

Finally, when the poor peasant is on the point of committing suicide and thus carrying to a higher court his apparently hopeless case, the high steward, who has delayed judgment only that he may prolong his enjoyment of the remarkable petitioner's eloquence, brings him to the favorable notice of the Pharaoh himself, and apparently — the end of the document is fragmentary — makes him possessor of all the lands and wealth of the noble who had wronged him, while the latter no doubt suffers condign punishment, to make the ending thoroughly happy.

The writer of the 'Complaint' is well aware that the poor man often suffers at the hands of the rich, and that officials whose duty it is to punish such illegal oppression frequently turn a deaf ear to the cry for justice while their underlings mock at the wronged man's sufferings and complaints. He can report the very words they use and describe their conduct with the vividness of an eyewitness. He knows all the customary arguments that justify such injustice. Yet he believes that justice still dwells in the land and that public officials can be taught, even by such writings as his, to do their duty. One must suppose him to have lived at a time somewhat farther removed from the lawlessness and disorder of the Interregnum than did the misanthrope and Khekheperre-sonbu, and to have been of an easier and more hopeful disposition than Ipuwer and Neferrohu, to whom we now turn.

The attitude of the real apocalypticist was different. He was as hopeless of existing society as the misanthrope and Khekheperre-sonbu. But he saw gleams of light in the distant future, when through the miracle of a righteous ruler a new age should dawn upon his land. The first Egyptian document to be recognized as an apocalyptic prophecy was the 'Admonitions of Ipuwer.' The papyrus on which it is found was written probably in the nineteenth dynasty.⁴⁰ The composition, it is now agreed, is to be dated at least as early as the twelfth dynasty. The introduction, which gave the title and the setting, is lost, but from the part which remains it is evident that the scene

⁴⁰ Le iden Papyrus No. 344, published in definitive form by A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.

was laid in the court of Zoser of the third dynasty, whom the prophet addresses. Possibly, as in the contemporary prophecy of Neferrohu, the king had addressed to the seer a request for entertainment, possibly, like the 'eloquent peasant,' Ipuwer had appealed to the king for the redress of some wrong done him. As Gardiner interprets it, the fragmentary and obscure papyrus begins with ten pages of vivid but often unintelligible description of the evil plight of the land. No logical arrangement nor progress of thought can be discovered, but certain themes appear again and again.

Civil war has broken out in the land:

Behold, a few lawless men are endeavoring to deprive the land of the kingship. Behold, men are endeavoring to revolt against the Uraeus [the royal serpent] . . . which pacifies the two lands (7. 2-4).

Consequently the land has fallen a prey to foreign invaders:

Indeed, the desert is in the land; the districts [of Egypt] are devastated; foreign bowmen come to Egypt (3. 1).

Indeed, the marshes [of the delta] throughout are not hidden. Although Lower Egypt is proud of its trodden highways, what is to be done? . . . Behold, it is in the hand of those who knew it not like those who knew it. Asiatics are skilled in the workmanship of the Marshes (4. 5-8).

Orderly government is practically at an end, the laws are disregarded, and anarchy prevails:

The laws of the judgment hall are cast out, men walk upon them in public places, the poor break them open in the midst of the streets. Indeed, the poor man [thus] attains to the power of the divine Ennead; that [old and respected] procedure of the Houses of the Thirty [Judges] is divulged. Indeed, the great judgment-hall is thronged, poor men go and come in the Great Houses [law-courts] (6. 9-12).

Indeed, as for the splendid judgment-hall, its writings are carried away; the private office that was is exposed. . . . Indeed, departmental offices are opened, their writings are carried away. Woe is me for the misery of this time. Indeed, the scribes of the produce, their writings are rejected; the grain of Egypt is any comer's (6. 5-9).

War and strife are everywhere:

A man goes to plow bearing his shield. . . . Indeed . . . the archer is ready, the violent is in every place. There is no man of yesterday (2.2).

As in Hebrew apocalyptic, families are divided and unnatural crimes are committed:

A man smites his brother of the same mother. What is to be done? (5. 10).
A man regards his son as his enemy (1. 5).

As, in New Testament apocalyptic, "one is taken and another left," so, with a different nuance,

behold, a man is slain by the side of his brother, while he [the brother] forsakes him to save his own limbs (9.3).

One feature of the prevailing anarchy is continual robbery and murder:

Although the roads are guarded, men sit in the thickets until the benighted traveller comes, in order to seize his burden. That which is upon him is taken away. He is beaten with blows of a stick and wickedly slain (5. 11-12).

The plunderer is everywhere (2. 2).

Indeed, the land turns around [the social order is overturned] as does a potter's wheel. He who was a robber is lord of wealth, [the rich man] is [now] plundered (2. 8-9).

Indeed, chests of ebony are smashed and luxurious acacia-wood is split into billets (3. 4-6).

Indeed, gates, columns, and walls are burned up (2. 10).

The tombs of the dead are plundered and the burial of the dead neglected:

Behold, though one be buried as a [royal] falcon on the bier, that which the pyramid concealed [the sepulchre] has become empty (7. 2).

Indeed, many dead are buried in the river; the stream is a tomb and the embalming place a stream (2. 6-7).

The natural consequence of anarchy is the cessation of industry, commerce, and agriculture, and therefore famine stalks through the land:

Men sail not northward to Byblos to-day. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies, with the tribute of which priests are buried, and with the oil of which princes are embalmed as far as Keftyew [Caphtor-Crete]? They return no more. Scanty is gold, ended are all the . . . of all crafts. . . . What a great thing that the natives of the oases [still] come bearing their festal produce (3. 6-9).

(This is ironical, of course.)

Behold, all the craftsmen, they do no work; the enemies of the land impoverish its crafts. [Behold, he who reaped] the harvest knows nought of it; he who has not plowed fills his granaries. When the harvest occurs, it is not reported. The scribe sits idle in his bureau, there is no work for his hands therein (9. 6-8).

Indeed, when the Nile overflows, no one plows for him [the Nile]. Every man says, "We know not what has happened in the land" (2.3).

Behold, cattle are left straying; there is none gathering them together. Every man brings for himself those that are branded with his name (9. 2-3).

Princes are hungry and in distress (5. 2).

Noble ladies go hungry; the butchers are sated with what was prepared for them (9. 1-2).

[Men eat only] herbs washed down with water. No fruit nor herbs are found for the birds. . . . is taken from the mouth of the swine (6. 1-2).

Corn is perished on every side. [People] are stripped of clothes, perfumes, and ointments. All men say, "There is none." The storehouse is laid waste; its keeper is stretched on the ground (6. 1-4).

. . . noble ladies. Their limbs are in sad plight by reason of their rags. Their hearts sink in greeting one another (3. 4).

Men are like *gm*-birds. Squalor is throughout the land. There is none whose clothes are white in these times.

Along with sword and famine comes the third member of their horrible trinity, pestilence:

[Men's hearts] are violent. The plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere. There is no lack of death; the swathing [of the dead] speaks, before one comes near it (2. 5-6).

As when the Israelites were in Egypt,

The river is blood. Men drink of it, and shrink from [the taste of?] people. Men thirst after water (2. 10).

Indeed, crocodiles are glutted with what they have captured. Men go to them of their own accord (2. 12).

Among the prominent motifs of this description of the evils of the time one that appears most frequently is the reversal of former conditions, the overturning of the established social order. Of the four pages of Gardiner's summary this feature alone occupies one whole page.⁴¹ In several of the lines already quoted the idea has appeared. The slave has displaced his master; the poor man, the man of wealth.

Indeed, the land turns around as does a potter's wheel. He who was a robber is lord of wealth, the rich man is now plundered (2. 8-9).

⁴¹ Admonitions, p. 11. Apprehensions of this fate seem to have been a constant terror to the Egyptians. In one of the astrological predictions attributed to the "ancient Egyptians" (παλαιοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) it is said that three years after an eclipse of the sun in Ζυγῷ (ἤτοι χήλαις τοῦ Σκορπίου) the king of Egypt will make a campaign against the king of Syria. He will be defeated, in Egypt armies will gather, and, an insurrection occurring, the nobles will be destroyed by the crowds (τοὺς πρώτους ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων). Hephaestio of Thebes, I. c. 21, ed. Engelbrecht, quoted by Riess, 'Nech. et Petos. frag. magica,' Philologus, Supplementband VI, p. 337 (130).

The wealthy are in mourning. The poor man is full of joy. Every town says, "Let us suppress the powerful among us" (2. 7-8).

He who was a messenger now sends another (8.3).

He who had no dependents is now a lord of serfs. He who was a notable does commissions himself (9. 5).

The son of a man of rank is no longer distinguished from him who has no such father (4. 1).

The children of princes are cast out into the streets (6. 13).

The children of princes are dashed against the walls (5. 6).

Poor men are become owners of good things. He who could make for himself no sandals is now possessor of riches (2. 4-5).

She who had no box is possessed of a coffer. She who looked at her face in the water is possessed of a mirror (8. 5).

All female slaves are free with their tongues. When their mistress speaks, it is irksome to the servants (4. 13-14).

Gold and lapis lazuli, silver and malachite, carnelian and bronze, stone of Yebhet and . . . are fastened on the necks of female slaves. Good things are in the land. Yet the mistresses of houses say, "Would that we had something to eat" (3. 2-3).

The owner of wealth now passes the night thirsting [instead of banqueting]; and he who used to beg for himself his dregs is now owner of overflowing bowls. The owners of robes are now in rags; and he who wove not for himself is owner of fine linen (7. 10-12).

He who had no oxen is now possessor of a herd, and he who found no plow-oxen is owner of a herd. He who had no grain is now owner of granaries, and he who used to fetch grain for himself now has it issued [from his granary] (9. 3-5).

We have already noticed how Ipuwer points with horror to the poor penetrating into the law-courts and "attaining the power of the divine Ennead." These quotations suggest both the extent of the social upheaval which has taken place and the prophet's attitude toward it. It is the climax of all evils.

Strangely enough the decay of morals (aside from open crime) and of religion is only suggested:

The man of virtue walks in mourning by reason of what has happened in the land (1. 8).

Indeed, the hot-headed (?) man says: "If I knew where God is, then would I make offerings to him." Indeed right is in the land only in its name; what men do in appealing to it is iniquity (5. 3-5).

Magical spells are divulged. *Sm*-incantations and *shm*-incantations (?) are frustrated because they are remembered by men [have become public property] (6. 6-7).

[A man who is ignorant of] his god offers to him with the incense of another (8. 7).

Geese are given to the gods instead of oxen (8. 12).

As a natural consequence of all these evils, complete despair is in the land; men are ready, as we have already seen, to throw themselves to the crocodiles:

Great and small say, "I wish I might die." Little children say, "He ought never to have caused me to live" (4. 2-3).

Mirth is perished, and is no longer made. It is groaning that fills the land, mingled with lamentations (3. 13-14). [Even] all animals, their hearts weep. Cattle moan because of the state of the land (1. 8).

The sage himself is almost persuaded that his warnings are too late and that there is no remedy but the annihilation of every living thing. He cries:

Woe is me for the misery of this time (6. 8).

Would that there might be an end of men, that there might be no conception, no birth. If the land would but cease from noise, and strife be no more (5. 12-6. 1).⁴²

Ipuwer turns from this vivid description of the evil plight of the land to admonish his hearers to save their country by repentance and reform. The measures to be taken, quite in contrast to those urged by Israel's prophets, are purely political and ceremonial. One passage evidently urges the courtiers to military action against the king's enemies. The only complete sentence that is recoverable is:

Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence, splendid in courtiers (10. 6).

Then follows a series of exhortations to render the proper worship and offerings to the gods: .

Remember to bring fat *ro*-geese, *torpu* and *set*-geese, and to offer offerings to the gods. . . . Remember to erect flagstaffs, and to carve stelae, the priest purifying the temples, and the god's house being plastered like milk. . . . Remember to observe regulations, and to adjust dates. [Remember] to remove him who enters the priestly office in impurity of body. That is to perform it wrongfully. That is corruption of heart. . . . Remember to slaughter oxen . . . to offer geese upon the fire. . . . (10. 12-11.7).

Finally out of the lacunae of page 11 of the papyrus there emerges the famous 'messianic passage' of the Admonitions. The most intelligible part of it runs as follows:

He brings cooling to the flame. It is said he is the shepherd of all men. There is no evil in his heart. When his herds are few he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being fevered. Would that he had dis-

⁴² Cf. Jer. 20, 14-18; Job 3, 1-13; both are personal and individual.

cerned their character in the first generation. Then would he have smitten evil. He would have stretched forth his arm against it. He would have smitten the seed thereof and their inheritance. . . . Where is he to-day? Doth he sleep perchance? Behold, his might is not seen (11. 13-12. 6).

After more broken sentences of which the meaning can hardly be guessed, the seer appears to be addressing some individual, and it becomes clear that he is blaming the king in the fashion of Nathan's accusation of David, "Thou art the man." The king's laxity and indifference seem to be regarded as the cause of the country's evil state:

Taste, knowledge, and truth are with thee, yet confusion is what thou dost put throughout the land, together with the noise of tumult. . . . It is because thou hast acted so as to bring about these things. Thou hast spoken falsehood. The land is as a weed that destroys men (12. 12-13. 2).

This leads to an emphatic reiteration of the seer's favorite theme, the evils that prevail in the land. From it he turns to an idealistic picture of the peaceful and happy conditions that would return if his admonitions were heeded. And in this tone, apparently, the 'prophecy' closes.

H. O. Lange, who first urged the 'messianic' character of this document, thought the whole of it to be a prediction of the future. After the evils foretold by the seer, a wise king was to come and restore Egypt to her former prosperity and glory.⁴³ Gardiner, in his edition of the text, points out two facts which require an alteration of this conclusion and affect its bearing upon Hebrew prophecy: first, that the description of evils is not of something to come in the future, but of the present; and secondly, that in the light of the context the picture of the ideal ruler must refer to Re, the sun-god, and to the myth of his early paradisaic rule over Egypt.⁴⁴ But, as Breasted has insisted and Gardiner himself admits, the importance of the document for the study of Hebrew prophecy is hardly decreased by this changed conception of its interpretation. Only the detail of the comparison is affected, not the essential likeness.⁴⁵

⁴³ 'Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen,' SBA, 1903, pp. 601 ff.

⁴⁴ Admonitions, pp. 7 f., 13 f.

⁴⁵ Breasted, RTAE, pp. 212 f. and note; Gardiner, JEA, I, 100. So also Meyer, *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, pp. 451 f.; *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., I, 2, Stuttgart, 1909, pp. 274 f.; Peet, CAH, I, 344 ff.

Numerous analogies, more or less exact, to Ipuwer's procedure can be found in Hebrew prophecies which describe past or present calamities with exhortations to reform. Perhaps the completest parallel within a brief space is to be seen in Is. 1, if the ethical and religious passion of the great Hebrew prophet be overlooked and only the outline of the argument noted. Verses 5-9 describe the wounds, bruises, and stripes from which the land suffers; it is desolate, burned with fire, devoured by strangers. Then follows an appeal to its rulers to repent and reform, just as in Ipuwer's address to the courtiers, but with concrete suggestions of moral amendment which are the opposite of his (vss. 10-20). Then, after another brief arraignment of their sins (vss. 21 ff.), the prophet promises a happy restoration of the land "as at the beginning" (vss. 24-27), and concludes with further threats against the "transgressors and sinners" (vss. 28-31). Until some other copy of Ipuwer's Admonitions is found, it must remain uncertain whether his reference to the happy days of Re's rule upon earth was accompanied by any direct promise of their restoration. Yet, thrown into contrast as it is with the evils he has described and the lamentable failure of the monarch he is addressing, the allusion could hardly fail to suggest the ideal which a king should follow, especially as every Pharaoh was supposed, like his divine ancestor, to be a son of Re and shepherd of men.

The return of the prophet to a final picture of the ideal future which is possible for the land has parallels in virtually every Hebrew prophet and apocalypticist. The strange and, as it must seem to us, inconsistent oscillation between pictures of the evil that is and the good that ought to be and might be, is to be found in both Egyptian and Hebrew prophets. In all the Egyptian apocalypses, as Eduard Meyer has well said,

The outline is exactly the same as later with the Hebrew prophets: first the fearful catastrophe, then the Messianic kingdom. With both peoples it is thoroughly traditional and fixed since ancient times. In each case it is only the application to a definite, historically determined situation which is peculiar.⁴⁶

Such logical inconsistency, for such it appears to the western

⁴⁶ *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., I, 2, 274.

mind, has too often been taken by the literary critic as evidence of an editor's unintelligent interference with the prophet's line of thought. But in view of the document before us and others like it, in view also of the remarkable fluctuations of tone in the 'Complaint of the Eloquent Peasant,' it surely cannot be maintained that such sudden changes of mood are entirely impossible in a Hebrew prophet. In view also of the apparently happy ending of Ipuwer's discourse after ten pages of the most pessimistic complaint and bitterest denunciation, it can hardly be maintained on *a priori* grounds that even Amos may not have concluded with a picture and promise of a better day.

It would be instructive to compare and contrast the details of the evil picture drawn by Ipuwer with corresponding details in the Hebrew prophets. The sword, famine, and pestilence, that evil trinity which Jeremiah and Ezekiel so often mention, appear in Ipuwer, but not as a trinity. Robbery, violence, strife, the cessation of industry, of business, and of agriculture, these and other features are common to both Egyptian and Hebrew prophets. The cessation alike of mourning and feasting and the failure to bury the dead are common to both. There is a similar failure of legal procedure in both, but the Egyptian speaks, not of the failure of justice in the gate, but of the law courts, and of written laws and records which are invaded and destroyed.

In certain matters the two nations held diametrically opposite ideals. This becomes especially evident in the attitude toward the poor displayed by Ipuwer. The prophets of Israel were the champions of the poor, and one of their most serious indictments of their countrymen was their failure to do justice to the poor and the weak. In many of the Psalms this is almost an obsession, and the apocalypists of the Maccabean age make the reversal of present conditions, the overthrow of the rich and powerful and the elevation of the poor and humble to places of power, one of the distinctive features of the coming of the kingdom of God.⁴⁷ How completely Ipuwer disagrees with such an

⁴⁷ See I Enoch 46, 4 f.; 48, 8 f.; 62, 4 f.; 94, 6-11; 96, 1; Lk. 1, 47-53. Cf. McCown, *Promise of His Coming*, New York, 1921, pp. 120 f., 167; Causse, 'Les "Pauvres" d'Israel,' Strasbourg-Paris, 1922.

attitude in social matters! For him the most convincing evidence of the reign of evil in the land, the most strongly emphasized feature of its unhappy plight, is exactly this reversal of social position for which the Jewish apocalypticist longed. A dictatorship of the proletariat was the last thing the Egyptian desired. He felt it his duty to be benevolent, to see that none were hungry, that no injustice was done to the poor, the humble, the fatherless, and the widow. But the poor man deserved consideration only when he kept his place. There never was a less democratic land than Egypt.

There is another feature that might be described as dominating Hebrew prophecy and apocalyptic, but of which Ipuwer shows no trace. He does not give the slightest intimation that any natural catastrophe has occurred or is to be visited upon Egypt. He says, "The river is blood," but, as the context shows, it is due to the number of the murdered whose bodies have been cast into its waters. "The desert is in the land" means that the Bedouins are overrunning it. Famine has come, but its cause is not even the failure of the Nile to overflow, but the anarchy which has disturbed agriculture and business and allowed the granaries to be broken open. Moreover the want is not absolute, it strikes mainly those who once were rich. The poor man feasts though the rich man hungers.

Both Ipuwer and Neferrohu, who is to be discussed below, differ from the Hebrew prophets in their attitude toward their nation and its government. While the Egyptian seers are narrow nationalists, concerned only for their own nation and its government, the prophets of Israel take a distinctly larger view. They also are patriots, but not chauvinists. They love their people, but they love righteousness more. Furthermore, in their conceptions of religion the Egyptian and Hebrew prophets stand wide apart. We must, therefore, repeat with emphasis the verdict of Eduard Meyer:

Of the enlargement and deepening which it [the apocalyptic scheme] received at the hands of the Hebrew prophets no trace has been discovered in Egypt. Creative individuality was lacking [in Egypt] also in this field.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., I, 2, 274; see above, p. 378.

Erman has tentatively proposed another interpretation of the document we are considering.⁴⁹ He suggests that the situation is one in which a monarch who has ruled long and well has become too old to carry on the processes of government with vigor, and that in consequence there is in the land an incipient condition of anarchy. This is described in the first section of the papyrus (cols. 1-6) where every statement begins with 'forsooth.' The prophet then goes on to portray what will ensue unless vigorous measures are undertaken, and these predictions are found in the succeeding section where 'behold' is the introductory word (7-9.7). The famous 'messianic passage' is taken as a description of what the king had been when he was younger. The chief cause of the unhappy situation is the uprising of the poorer populace against the nobles, to which Erman finds eleven references in the first section and twenty-six in the second. An uprising also of foreign mercenaries has taken place, but no invasion by Asiatics; the latter have merely come to positions of importance in Egypt because of the failure of the government to maintain the ancient social order. Accordingly, Erman regards the document as a description of what happened at the end of the ninety-four year reign of Pepi II, the last great monarch of the Old Kingdom, composed (as a warning?) by a social writer of the Middle Kingdom. It is prophetic in the same sense as other Middle Kingdom documents, as a protest against evil and an exhortation to right living.

If this interpretation should be accepted, it will decidedly alter, if it does not destroy, the importance of the document for the study of apocalyptic. The second section becomes a prophecy *ex eventu* describing the dark days between the Old and the Middle Kingdom. The prediction of the coming of a good king, either in the sense of Lange or the modified form in which Gardiner would allow it through a reference to the happy reign of Re, disappears entirely. If, therefore, the work contains no actual prediction of better times, but only the 'admonitions,' as all unite in calling them, which are read so uncertainly in the papyrus, we have in this document a brave and vigorous piece

⁴⁹ 'Die Mahnworte eines ägyptischen Propheten,' SBA, 1919, pp. 804-815.

of prophetic exhortation to righteousness (and that is one of the chief elements in true prophecy),⁵⁰ but the apocalyptic scheme which Meyer discovered disappears entirely.

The outstanding feature of the work is its aristocratic tone, its hatred of the common people, and its implicit argument that only by the maintenance of the nobility can the Egyptian state be preserved. Hence Erman's interpretation emphasizes that feature of the document which contrasts most sharply with the attitude of the Hebrew prophets and apocalyptists, exactly the feature of Egyptian ideals which most impresses one throughout all the nation's history except for the 'religion of the poor' in the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.

On Erman's view, then, Ipuwer cannot have served as a model for Hebrew prophecy or apocalyptic except in so far as he describes an evil situation which he predicts will become worse, and urges repentance and reform. Nearly all the Hebrew prophets and apocalyptists take virtually this attitude. Amos, for example, tells of the evils which Yahweh has sent upon Israel (4, 6-11), and then goes on to predict still worse to come. Micah (3, 9-12) describes in a few terse sentences the breakdown of government and religion, and then predicts the punishment which will be its reward. But this gloomy outlook, which sees society going from bad to worse, is one of the most common features in all human thinking. The Hebrew prophet would require no model to suggest such a line of thought. Nor is it in the least unusual to urge repentance and reform in view of future evils to result from present wrong-doing. All that the Hebrew prophets could learn from Ipuwer would be the reinforcement of the lesson that nations are destroyed by misrule.

In the account of Ipuwer's warnings as we now have it there is nothing that decisively forbids Erman's attractive interpretation, but a contemporary document has been discovered which is sufficiently complete and clear to make its interpretation as an apocalypse almost indubitable, and, in view of the similarity of its tone and temper to Ipuwer (so far as he can be understood), it seems reasonable to accept Gardiner's view as to the latter rather than Erman's.

⁵⁰ Cf. Breasted, RTAE, p. 212, note; Gardiner, JEA, I, 100.

This second and more complete Egyptian apocalypse is the 'Vision of Neferrohu.' It has been published by Golénischeff from a Leningrad (St. Petersburg) papyrus of the eighteenth dynasty and translated into English by Gardiner.⁵¹ Whereas only the one imperfect copy of Ipuwer is known, several fragments of the prophecy of Neferrohu prove the popularity of the document and assist in determining the text. The date of its composition is almost certainly the twelfth dynasty, since it includes a prediction, no doubt *ex eventu*, of the building of the 'Wall of the Prince' by Amen-em-het I, the same wall that is mentioned in the story of Sinuhe as "made to repel the Bedouins and to crush the Nomads."

The scene is laid again in the Old Kingdom, this time at the court of Snefru. The king had demanded of his courtiers that some one be found to divert him with wise and beautiful words. Accordingly, the "great lector of Ubast," Neferrohu, "a commoner valiant with his arm, a scribe excellent with his fingers, a wealthy man great of possessions beyond his equals," was brought in, and at the king's request he discoursed, "not of things past," for "to-day a thing happens and is past," but of things future, "brooding over what should come to pass in the land, and conjuring up the condition of the East, when the Asiatics approach in their might and their hearts rage against those who are gathering in the harvest, and they take their kine from the plowing." Neferrohu's arraignment of society is much briefer than Ipuwer's; it is better ordered and less repetitious. The seer puts what his vision tells him into the vivid present. After a general paragraph of lamentation, of which the burden runs, "perished is the land," he describes certain natural portents and disasters. There are, to be sure, no such vivid descriptions of natural catastrophes as in Hebrew prophecy, for the Egyptian knew little of hurricanes, volcanoes, and earthquakes, but his tamer pictures carry no less impressive a picture of physical desolation:

⁵¹ Hermitage papyrus No. 1116 B, translated in JEA, I, 100-166; cf. Peet in CAH, I, 344 f. In Gressmann-Ranke, *Alt. Texte u. Bilder*, pp. 204-266, Ranke attempted a translation from a defective text found on a Cairo tablet.

The sun is veiled and shines not in the sight of men. None can live when the sun is veiled by clouds. The sight of all is dulled through want of it. . . . The river is dry, [even the river] of Egypt. Men cross over the water on foot. Men shall need water for the ships and for the sailings thereof. Their course is become a sand-bank. And the sand-bank shall be stream.

There is even war in heaven:

The South wind shall blow against the North wind, the sky shall not have one wind alone. A fearsome bird shall be born in the swamps of the delta; it makes its nest on either side; the people have caused it to approach through want of it (25-30).

At a later point the prophet represents the veiling of the sun as the withdrawal of the sun-god Re, using terms that resemble still more closely Hebrew prophecy:

Re removes himself from men. If he shines, it is but for an hour. None knoweth that midday is there; his shadow is not discerned (51-52).

The drought is so great that the pools which supplied fish and fowls are dried up and become pasture-land for the Bedouins (30-32):

The beasts of the desert shall drink from the waters of Egypt and take their ease on their sand-banks in the lack of any to scare them away (35-36).

With this is associated an invasion of the hated Asiatics. To the Egyptian mind, "foes are in the East, and Asiatics shall descend into Egypt" seems to have had the same connotation as the 'North' for the Hebrews.

Morality and law are at an end:

I show thee the land upside down, happened that which never [yet] had happened. Men shall take weapons of warfare; the land lives in uproar. Men shall fashion weapons of bronze; they crave for the bread of blood. Men shall laugh with the laughter of pain. None there is that weepeth because of death. None spends the night hungry because of death. Every man's heart careth for his own self. No dishevelled locks are made to-day. . . . A man sits in his corner careless while one slayeth another. I show thee the son as an enemy, the brother as a foe, a man slaying his father. Every mouth is full of "Love me!" All good things have departed (38-45).

Quarrelling, fighting, and hatred are universal (48-50). Want results:

The land is minished, its rulers multiplied. Lacking is any rich in his produce. Little is the corn, great the corn-measure; yet it is measured to overflowing (50-51).

The likeness of this picture of the evils of the times to those found in Hebrew and Jewish apocalypses is patent. But as with Ipuwer, in contrast to Hebrew apocalyptic, the greatest evil is the Bolshevistic overturning of the social order. Twice the phrase occurs, "I show thee the land upside down."

Men take a man's possessions from him; they are given to him who is a stranger. I show thee the possessor as one needy, while the stranger is satisfied. He who never was one who filled for himself is one who is empty (47-48).

I show thee the land upside down; the man weak of arm is now the possessor of an arm; men do the bidding of him who once did other men's bidding. I show thee the undermost uppermost. . . . The poor man will make his hoard. . . . The pauper eats offering-bread. Servants are. . . . The nome of Heliopolis will not be the land of birth of any god (54-57).

Then without a word of transition or explanation, just as in Amos, Micah, Obadiah, or Joel, mourning is suddenly and inexplicably turned into rejoicing by the promise of a new day:

There is a King shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, a child of Chen-khon. He shall receive the white crown, he shall assume the red crown; he shall unite the Two Powerful Ones; he shall propitiate Horus and Set with what they love. . . .

The people of his time shall rejoice, [this] man of noble birth shall make his name for ever and ever. Those who turn to mischief, who devise rebellion shall subdue their mouthings through fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall by his sword, the Libyans shall fall before his flame, and the rebels before his wrath, and the froward before his majesty. The Uraeus that dwelleth in front shall pacify for him the froward.

There shall be built the Wall of the Prince, so as not to allow the Asiatics to go down into Egypt, that they may beg for water after [their] wonted wise, so as to give their cattle to drink. And right shall come into its place, and iniquity be cast forth. He will rejoice who shall behold and who shall serve the king. And he that is prudent shall pour to me libation when he sees fulfilled what I have spoken (57-71).

The prophecy of Neferrohu must be supposed to have been written after the rise of the twelfth dynasty, probably in the reign of Amen-em-het I (Ameny), since it culminates in a panegyric upon that king. Evidently the writer believed that his reign and the building of his wall to keep out the Bedouins inaugurated a new era when all the evils he had described would disappear. In a similar fashion Hammurapi is portrayed in the prologue and epilogue to his code as bringing to his people idyllic prosperity and happiness, and Ashur-bani-pal is praised

by one of his courtiers as a messiah.⁵² That the courtier-mind could well harbor such seemingly extravagant ideas is proved by many examples from the ancient Orient.⁵³

The prophetic idea of the messiah was perhaps influenced more by Babylonia than by Egypt. But certainly in Neferrohu, and apparently in Ipuwer, we have a combination of motifs that up to the present time has not been discovered in any Semitic document, and they may well be taken as prototype of the great Hebrew prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. There is a similar interest in social justice, a similar use, in Neferrohu at least, of physical catastrophe to indicate and emphasize the social disorder and decay and the wrath of the gods. The same features of social disorder are mentioned, misgovernment, indifference to evil, strife even within the family, lack of faith, robbery, and murder. There is the same hope of restoration under a good prince who shall enjoy divine protection. Neferrohu's description of the activities of his messiah contain many of the same ideas, if not the same phrases, as certain of the messianic psalms, such as Psalm 2 and Psalm 110. However it is not in ideas of the messiah or in features of social disorder that the debt of Hebrew literature to Egyptian apocalyptic is to be discovered, for the Egyptian prophets were utterly superficial as compared with the Hebrew. It is rather in the general scheme, in the peculiar combination of the motifs of *Unheilseschatologie* and *Heilseschatologie*. Certainly Breasted can say of Neferrohu what he formerly wrote regarding Ipuwer:

The peculiar significance of the picture lies in the fact that, if not the social program, at least the social ideals, the golden dream of the thinkers of this far-off age, already included the ideal ruler of spotless character and benevolent purposes who would cherish and protect his own and crush the wicked. . . . The vision of his character and work is here unmistakably lifted up by the ancient sage — lifted up in the presence of the living king and those associated with him, that they may catch something of its splendor. This is, of course, Messianism nearly fifteen hundred years before its appearance among the Hebrews.⁵⁴

⁵² For the latter see Schrader-Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, 3d ed., Berlin, 1902-03, pp. 380 f.

⁵³ See Gressmann, *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, pp. 250-300.

⁵⁴ RTAE, p. 212.

IV. EGYPTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE OF GREEK
AND ROMAN TIMES

The prophecies and other social documents of the Middle Kingdom continued to be copied and read in subsequent periods. They were evidently regarded with renewed interest and appreciation after the terrible inroads of the abominated Hyksos and the glorious restoration under the eighteenth dynasty. We may suppose that they were often quoted as fulfilled when, under Ahmose I and his successors, the government was reorganized, Syria was conquered, and the wealth of the world was pouring into Egypt, just as the Jews thought of the Maccabean Hyrcanus as the fulfillment of messianic prophecy. But for nearly two thousand years we can discover no new documents of their kind. The hymns of the religious reform of Ikhnaton strangely enough lack the social note. It is not until the Ptolemaic period, when the last native Egyptian monarch had ruled and passed away, that a literature of approximately this sort reappears. If any such documents were composed during these seventeen hundred years, they have not yet been recovered. When such do appear, written now in demotic, they are of a somewhat different character, resembling more closely the contemporary Jewish apocalypses. Like the latter, they are the product of the dissatisfaction and despair induced by the long-continued repression of Egyptian national hopes under the rule of foreign conquerors. They are even more distinctly nationalistic than the prophecies of 2000 B.C.

The earliest is the so-called 'Demotic Chronicle.' This most obscure and difficult document was purchased in Cairo by a soldier of Napoleon in 1801 and, after being handed down in his family, was purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale about 1872 or 1873. Eugène Revillout first published a notice of it in 1876 with the description "*chronique démotique*." Later he discovered his error and characterized it quite rightly as "*prophéties patriotiques*." Brugsch called it "*eine Reihe von erfüllten Prophezeiungen*," Maspero, a "*rhapsodie démotique*." Spiegelberg and Eduard Meyer agree that it is best described

as "*einen sehr dunkel gehaltenen Kommentar zu noch dunkleren Prophezeiungen.*" It has been given its definitive edition by Spiegelberg,⁵⁵ and Eduard Meyer has discussed its meaning and historical value.⁵⁶

The document consists of a papyrus roll from which the beginning and end are lost, the middle part alone remaining. It was formed by pasting together parts of old rolls from which the writing had been washed off. Since some of the original writing was Greek, the present document must have been written in the Ptolemaic period. The recto contains the oracles, the verso various fragments. The character of the demotic points to the first half of the Ptolemaic period and to Lower Egypt as its place of origin.⁵⁷ The oracles, likewise, must have been composed in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps at the time of some otherwise unknown insurrection against Greek rule, for they exhibit the strongest national feeling. They consist of sections, '*Tafeln*,' as Spiegelberg calls them, translating an obscure demotic word. The sections, or 'tablets,' each containing one or more oracles and their interpretations, seem loosely chronological, but exhibit no definite internal connection or logical structure.

The first, very fragmentary, column of the existing roll begins apparently with 'tablet' six, and column seven contains the end of 'tablet' fourteen. The character of the document will be best illustrated by presenting a few of its most significant and least unintelligible oracles (which I will enclose in single quotation marks) with their "interpretations."

Column II begins with the oracle,

'The last day of the month is and the last day of the month will be.' That means: The end of the investigation will take place, which the gods have made. 'Full is the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth day of the month.'

This is interpreted, at some length, as meaning the six Pharaohs, Amyrtaeus, Nepherites (I), Hakoris, Nepherites (II), Nektanebos, and "King" Tachos. Then follows:

⁵⁵ Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris, nebst den auf der Rückseite stehenden Texten, Leipzig, 1914.

⁵⁶ 'Ägyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit, I. Eine eschatologische Prophetie über die Geschichte Ägyptens in persischer und griechischer Zeit,' SBA, 1915, 1, 287-304.

⁵⁷ Spiegelberg, p. 4; Meyer, pp. 287 f.

That which they have done is recorded by Thoth, when he investigated their history in Heracleopolis. 'They give the seventh to Ptah.' It means: The ruler that comes after them will examine the affairs of Memphis. . . .

Behold, the seventh tablet:

'The middle of the *'se*-festival takes place in Pi [a part of the city Buto] in the month Mechir.' That means: The end of the race is according to what is determined in the month Mechir. That is, the burial will take place in the month Mechir. The *'se*-festival is the end of the month.

'The beginning of the *Nebti*-festival takes place in the month Phamenoth.' That means: The beginning of the future rule of the ruler is the month Phamenoth. The *Nebti*-festival is the beginning of the month.

'Moon, bewitch the stream [the Nile?] — when the prince travels around in the whole land.' That means: The ruler who will succeed them will forsake (or, plunder) Egypt.

'They exchange left for right — right is Egypt — left is the land of Charu (Phoenicia).' That means: He who is gone into the land of Charu, which is the left, is exchanged for him who is in Egypt, which is the right (II. 1-13).

Evidently the writer of the above desired the reader to think that he was living under Tachos, the Teos of Manetho (362-361 B.C.), to whom alone he gives the title King. The oracles and their 'interpretations' are allusions to historical events which occurred during the reigns of the preceding ephemeral monarchs of the period. Only the last one quoted is intelligible to us. While Tachos was engaged in Phoenicia in war with Persia, Nectanebos II rose in insurrection in Egypt and secured the throne, Tachos being obliged to flee for safety to his enemy, the Persian monarch.

While what succeeds is largely unintelligible, it appears that there are references to foreign rulers, and then to the revival of a new national government. The meaning of certain sentences is perfectly clear, although we have no other evidence of the uprising to which allusion is made:

It is a man of Heracleopolis who will rule after the Ionians. 'Rejoice, O prophet of Harsaphes.' That means: The prophet of Harsaphes rejoices after the Ionians. For a ruler has arisen in Heracleopolis (II. 25-III. 1).

The opening of the temples, the insurrection, the gathering of the armies, the fighting, the crowning of a new king, the feasting, and the rejoicing are described, all in the peculiar fashion of this strange prophet (III. 2-16).

With column III. 17, 'tablet' 10, a new prophecy begins which returns again to Amyrtaeus, and the reigns of the succeeding

rulers are described somewhat more in detail. In the cases of Nectanebos I, Tachos, and "the ruler who will come" (that is, succeed Tachos), the number of regnal years is given, corresponding almost exactly with Manetho's data (III. 17-IV. 19).

It is remarkable that in this section, as Meyer points out,⁵⁸ precisely the same religious philosophy of history prevails as in the Deuteronomic books of the Old Testament, Judges, Kings, and Chronicles. The rulers who serve the gods are continued on the throne, those who do not are speedily deposed, or vice versa those who reigned but a short time are supposed to have been guilty of impiety or else to have suffered for the sins of their fathers. The norm is the 'law,' the divine ordinances as introduced and given literary form in the twenty-sixth dynasty, the period during which the Deuteronomic law was introduced in Judah.

There follows a detailed description of what the land suffered under the Persians. Here we are in the future as related to the assumed standpoint of the writer, and no names appear except that of Nectanebos in numerous unintelligible allusions (IV. 20-VI. 18). With the next line the time of the Ionians is reached, and "they rule Egypt for a long time." The last fully preserved line has been thought to refer to Alexander or the first Ptolemy as "the great dog," but the meaning is quite uncertain. Doubtless the remainder went on, as in the previous series, to depict the anticipated happy restoration of native rule.

The original document possibly began much farther back in history than Amyrtaeus, since six 'tablets' are lost at the beginning of our copy. In any case the lost introduction probably told of the finding of ancient oracles during the reign of Tachos, which the finder then interpreted. The application of the earlier 'oracles' to the kings whose names are mentioned, and of later ones to the succeeding monarchs (not named, because *ex hypothesi* they were still in the future) would create implicit faith in the reader of the Ptolemaic period. When the prophet then goes on to proclaim the joyful outcome of the insurrection which is imminent, he would arouse both hope and

⁵⁸ Op. cit., p. 299.

enthusiastic participation.⁵⁹ As all Egyptologists agree, however, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that either 'oracles' or 'interpretations' are older than the Ptolemaic period. The whole document is the pious fiction of an ardent patriot.

As Meyer notes, the outline is the same in this prophecy as in other Egyptian and in Jewish apocalypses. A great catastrophe is to come upon the land, its conquest by foreign barbarians, the desolation of the temples, the cessation of worship, the overturning of the social order, to be followed by the expulsion of the foreigners at the hands of a divinely chosen king, the restoration of worship and the social order, and a new period of happiness and prosperity. When, now, one remembers that this document of pious patriotism was probably written about half a century before the composition of the book of Daniel, at the beginning of the period which produced all the great Jewish apocalypses, Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the earliest Sibyllines, and many apocalyptic sections of the Old Testament, and at a time when there were the closest political relations and the most constant intercourse between Palestine and Egypt, the possibilities of mutual borrowing become undeniable. The whole of this Egyptian apocalypse is constructed on the plan of the incident in which Daniel interprets the handwriting on the wall. The author of Daniel has various other means of expression, especially dreams and visions, but his literary artifices, like those of other Jewish apocalypists, and his outline of history are based upon exactly the same presuppositions as those of his Egyptian brother. He represents his prophecies as delivered long years before his time in order that their fulfillment may encourage his readers to believe in the happy outcome of their uprising against the un-

⁵⁹ An instructive modern parallel is to be found in the oracular prophecies of Nicholas Van Rensburg, a Boer prophet who, according to the official report, played no small part in encouraging the pro-german outbreak among the Boers led by General Beyers at the beginning of the World War. In this modern instance, the 'prophet,' who already had a wide reputation as a seer, saw visions and heard voices of an ambiguous sort which he interpreted as prophecies indicating a favorable outcome of the insurrection. See Leo Fouché, *Report of the Outbreak of the Rebellion and the Policy of the Government with regard to its Suppression*, London, 1915.

godly barbarians who are oppressing them. His 'supernatural pragmatism,' according to which all history is to be read as a succession of rewards for the righteous and punishments for the wicked, eventuating in a final period of glory, power, and prosperity for his righteous nation, is exactly the same as that of the Egyptian. His conception of righteousness as the punctilious observance of divine ordinances, especially of ritual, is again like that of the Egyptian. In fact, the Egyptian and Jewish apocalypses belong to the same currents of thought, currents which were to be found in all the eastern Mediterranean world at this time, as the analogous developments in Parsism show. Yet again it must be said most emphatically, with Meyer, that unedifying as are the Jewish apocalypses and other contemporary writings, they are immeasurably superior to anything that can be discovered among their neighbors. Here, as elsewhere, Jewish moral and religious pre-eminence is abundantly evident.⁶⁰

One other demotic apocalypse remains to be noted, that of the famous 'Lamb' under Bocchoris. In the thirty-fourth year of Augustus, 7-8 A.D., there was written in demotic on a papyrus roll an apocalypse with the title, 'The Curses upon Egypt of the Sixth Year of King Bocchoris.'⁶¹ Before the discovery of the papyrus the name of this Egyptian king was already well known, although ancient writers had handed down most conflicting reports concerning him. Diodorus inconsistently placed him in the fourth dynasty,⁶² some made him the Pharaoh of the exodus,⁶³ others correctly accounted him with Manetho the sole monarch of the twenty-fourth dynasty.⁶⁴ He reigned

⁶⁰ Eduard Meyer, *SBA*, 1915, I, pp. 303 f.; *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 1921, II, pp. 187 f.

⁶¹ A Rainer papyrus (Vienna) found in the ruins of Sokhnopaiou Nesos, by Birket Karun (Lake Moeris) north of the Fayum, translated by Krall, 'Vom König Bokchoris,' in *Festgaben zu Ehren Max Büdinger's*, 1898, pp. 1-11. See A. Moret, *De Bocchori rege*, Paris, 1903, pp. 35-49; Gressmann, *Altor. Texte und Bilder*, pp. 206 f.

⁶² i. 65.

⁶³ Lysimachus (the paradoxographer, 2d or 1st century B. C.; Christ, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, 6th ed., München, 1920, II, pp. 223, 238), according to Josephus, c. Ap. i. 304-311 (34), apparently attributed to him the Amenophis legend of Manetho concerning the origin of the Hebrews from lepers and outcasts. See also Tacitus, *Hist. v. 3*.

⁶⁴ *Frag. hist. graec.*, II, pp. 592 f., 610; IV, pp. 539 f. (John of Antioch).

six years (*ca.* 718–712 B.C.), if our fragmentary information is rightly interpreted. Many and conflicting were the legends concerning his wisdom, his justice, and his unfortunate end.⁶⁵ It would seem that all the various traditions of the misfortunes of Egyptian monarchs came to be attached to this, the last native-born Pharaoh before the Assyrian conquest.

The legend on which the apocalypse is based is mentioned by Aelian, who says:

The Egyptians relate . . . that under the famous Bocchoris a lamb with eight feet and two tails was born and broke into speech. And they celebrate the two heads of the lamb and say that it was four-horned. One can excuse Homer for giving a voice to the horse Xanthus, for he was a poet. . . . But how is it possible to listen to the Egyptians when they boast of such things? Yet the strange story of this lamb has been told here even though it is mythical.⁶⁶

Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius in their chronicles, as also John of Antioch, mention the strange phenomenon of the speaking lamb.⁶⁷ A work ascribed to Plutarch quotes an Egyptian proverb concerning the speaking of a lamb.⁶⁸ This legend receives an extension and explanation from the demotic apocalypse of the age of Augustus. Although the papyrus is quite fragmentary, there remains enough in the three columns preserved to show its general tenor.

Apparently the story ran that an Egyptian named Psenyris (Pasanhorus) went to a sacred lamb for an oracle, which, when received, he wrote down. The document as preserved begins in the midst of the oracle with a now fragmentary description of the sad state of Egypt in which Charu (Syria or Phoenicia), from which the disaster is to come, is twice mentioned. It continues:

“The misfortune of Egypt is great. Let Heliopolis mourn in the East, . . . let Hermopolis mourn . . . they make the roads from Hebit (?) . . . let Thebes mourn.” The Lamb ended its curses. Psenyris said to him:

⁶⁵ Collected, discussed, and explained by Moret, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ *De nat. animal.*, xii. 3 (ed. Didot, p. 202).

⁶⁷ See *Die Griech. Christl. Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhund.*, Eusebius, V, p. 68, 34 f., p. 69, 2 f. (Armenian); VII, p. 86; “Bocchoris Aegyptus iura constituit, sub quo agnus locutus est” (Hieronimus).

⁶⁸ O. Crusius, *Plutarchi de proverbii Alexandrinorum libellus ineditus*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 12.

"What . . . ?" The Lamb said: ". . . for full [or, at the end of] nine hundred years I will smite Egypt. . . . He (some deity) turns his face toward Egypt. He departs from the strange warriors. . . . Lies, the destruction of justice and law, as it has [existed?] in Egypt. . . . They will take . . . the shrines of the gods of Egypt with them to Nineveh, to the land of Amor [Syria], he. . . . The men of Egypt go into the land of Charu, they conquer the districts, they recover the [stolen] shrines of the gods of Egypt."

A description follows of the happiness and joy which ensued in Egypt, and then comes the remark that the Lamb finished his words and "made his purification," that is, died. The account continues:

Psenyris had it [the Lamb] put upon a new . . . ship and he delayed not to go to the place where King Bocchoris was. They read the papyrus roll in the king's presence, that is, concerning all the misfortune that was to befall Egypt. . . . The king said: "Psenyris, look after the Lamb, let it be put into a shrine [?], let it be buried like a god, let it remain on earth as is the custom with every noble person."

The document ends with a subscription giving the date, the name of the copyist, and the title of the work, the 'imprecations on Egypt.'⁶⁹

Fragmentary as the document is, it is sufficient to prove that the same outline, the same dominant ideas, and the same conception of history prevailed at the time of its composition as in the older Egyptian apocalypses. The historical experiences of the nation have added detail, such as the loss and recovery of the divine images, and the literary framework is slightly different; but the apocalyptic scheme is unchanged.

As to the date of the composition of the document, it is to be noted that the legend does not appear in Herodotus, whose first book depends largely upon Hecataeus of Abdera, nor in Diodorus, nor in Lysimachus the paradoxographer. Moret holds that it must have been in Manetho, since he supposes that Aelian takes his stories of Egyptian animals from that Egyptian historian. But it is now maintained that Aelian depends upon the *Aegyptiaka* of Apion, son of Poseidonius, who headed the anti-semitic delegation to Caligula, and that carries the legend

⁶⁹ Krall, pp. 7 f.; Moret, esp. pp. 36 f.; Gressmann, *Altor. Texte und Bilder*, pp. 206 f. See Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, 2d ed., 1916, p. 547. But it is not "the last example of prophetic literature."

no farther back than the date of our papyrus.⁷⁰ One would expect to find such a tale in Hecataeus of Abdera, but it is not found in Diodorus, Aristaeas, Artapanos, or Josephus, who used Hecataeus,⁷¹ and, therefore, evidence fails for such an assumption. The only other evidence that Manetho had the tale is the fact that Africanus mentions it.⁷² But since he depends not on Manetho directly, but on an epitome made after the time of Josephus,⁷³ the evidence that Manetho contained the story is indecisive on this side.

Eduard Meyer argues with great plausibility that the story of Aelian, so far as concerns the double form of the monstrous lamb, goes back only to Apion, but that a Manethonic fragment is to be recognized in the passage concerning the speaking lamb found in *De proverbiiis Alexandrinorum* ascribed to Plutarch. It runs τὸ ἀρνίον σοι λελάληκεν, and the explanation is added, Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν ὡς ἀνθρωπεῖα φωνῇ λαλήσαν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἔχον βασιλείων δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ πτερωτόν, ἔχοντα μῆκος πῆχεων δ', καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τινὶ λελάληκε τὰ μέλλοντα. While, according to Professor Meyer, the prodigy described by Aelian is thoroughly un-egyptian, and is to be traced rather to the hellenistic imagination which produced also the monstrosities of Daniel and the Apocalypse, the lamb wearing an immense uraeus is quite within the customary range of Egyptian imagination.⁷⁴

The Aelian story, therefore, may well be later than Manetho, but the legend of the speaking lamb Ptolemaic or even pre-ptolemaic. Yet it seems difficult to suppose that the writer of the prophecy would adjourn the end of the period of suffering and the recovery of Egypt's glory to a time hundreds of years

⁷⁰ Moret, p. 43; Christ, Griech. Literaturgeschichte, 6th ed., München, 1920, II, pp. 437 f., 438, note 2, 625; see especially M. Wellmann, Hermes, 31, 1896, pp. 251 ff.; Meyer, Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache, 46 (1909-10), p. 135; and Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 145, note 3.

⁷¹ Christ, II, 223.

⁷² Βόκχωρις Σαίτης ἔτη 5' ἐφ' οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγγετο ἔτη 39', from Syncellus, Fragmenta hist. graec., II, p. 592; Routh, Reliquiae sacrae, ed. 2, 1846, II, pp. 260, 401.

⁷³ Christ, II, p. 225.

⁷⁴ Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache, 46 (1909-10), pp. 135 f. The authenticity and date of *De prov. Alex.* are uncertain, see Christ, Griech. Literaturgeschichte, II, p. 516. Suidas, s. v. ἀρνίον σοι λελάληκεν, has practically the same statement regarding the lamb and its uraeus. See O. Crusius, loc. cit.

after his own age. Certainly the Jewish apocalyptists were not so patient. They almost universally believed themselves to stand already at the end of the old age and the beginning of the new. One can more easily imagine a scribe of the time of Augustus accepting a term of nine hundred years from the reign of Bocchoris (718-712 B.C.) than one under the early Ptolemies looking forward to four or five hundred years of divine chastening.

The matter is complicated by the difficulty of determining the exact implications of this fixing of a nine-hundred-year period. Wilcken's suggestion is very attractive that the writer had in mind the next Sothis period, which came in 139 or 143 A.D., nearly, though not quite, nine hundred years after Bocchoris. Certainly an interesting passage in the 'Apology of the Potter,' which is to be considered next, is best explained as prophesying the return of Edenic happiness to Egypt when the new cycle should begin.⁷⁵ It is not in the least unlikely that in the hellenistic period, when in apocalyptic circles, as the Jewish writings show, astronomical calculations and chronological computations were popular, Egyptians should have expected a new age to dawn when the heliacal rising of Sothis coincided once more with the beginning of the year.

Other explanations of the nine hundred years of the apocalypse are possible, but less ingenious. Nine was a sacred number with the Egyptians, as her numerous enneads show, and its multiplication by one hundred might easily be supposed to enhance its sanctity. Whether, therefore, as Moret supposes,⁷⁶ Manetho had the figure, or whether it was introduced by the patriotic scribe of Augustus' day, who gave the Roman Empire more than a century of life, the number is not unsuitable.

In any case it has relieved an historical difficulty in the notice from Africanus in a most unexpected and instructive fashion. He gives the figure nine hundred and ninety, which, in the connection, is absolutely unintelligible (*ἐφ' οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγγαστο ἑτη ᾱϑ'*), for which reason, no doubt, Eusebius omitted it. The

⁷⁵ See below, p. 399.

⁷⁶ De Bocchori rege, p. 45. Krall, *Festgaben zu Ehren M. Büdinger's*, p. 10, suggests that more than one figure was in circulation.

figure had caused students of ancient chronology endless conjectures, being most diversely interpreted.⁷⁷ The statement of the papyrus, that evil was to continue for nine hundred years, at once clears the difficulty and provides a most instructive illustration of the manner in which such chronological predictions are usually handled. In Africanus' time the fulfillment of the prophecy was already overdue, and he, or his source, had adopted the simple expedient of adding another nine-times-ten. It is an excellent example of the tendency of apocalyptic chronology to expand or shift its numbers to fit the passage of time. As the seventy years of Jeremiah and the weeks and days of Daniel and Revelation have been reinterpreted at will, so must the literal coming of the Golden Age be repeatedly postponed.

The remaining Egyptian apocalypses are known to us from Greek papyri and Greek historians. The one which most closely resembles the documents already noticed is entitled, 'Apology of the Potter to King Amenophis.' It is preserved in a Rainer (Vienna) papyrus of the third century A.D.⁷⁸ As with the Lamb's apocalypse, the beginning is wanting, and we are uncertain as to the dramatic framework within which the Potter's address was placed. Since it is a defence, *ἀπολογία*, it is possible that he had been accused of some crime, such as impiety or lack of patriotism. How much is lost cannot be determined. Of the two columns of the papyrus which have been preserved, the first is so fragmentary that no complete sentence can be made out, but it seems clear that it opens in the midst of a description of evil times such as belongs to an Egyptian apocalypse. In its earlier lines one finds references to "lawless," and "unnatural," and "evil-doers," an apostrophe to "unhappy Egypt," and mention of "the river," of seed-sowing,

⁷⁷ Krall, pp. 5 ff.; Moret, pp. 39 ff.

⁷⁸ First published by Wessely in 'Neue griechische Zauberpapyri,' Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., 42 (1893), No. 2, pp. 3 ff., discussed by Ulrich Wilcken, *Aegyptiaca* (Festschr. für Georg Ebers), 1897, pp. 146-152; Richard Reitzenstein, 'Ein Stück hellenist. Kleinlit.' in *Nachr. v. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1904, pp. 309-332. I follow the text of Wilcken, *Hermes*, 40 (1905), pp. 546-549, which is not final, since the original had not been properly cleaned and mounted. See also the translation in Gressmann, *Altort. Texte u. Bilder*, pp. 207 ff., and Schmidt's summary, *JBL*, 41 (1922), pp. 108 f.

of "those who are in want," of "attacking," and "carrying away." Then follow lines with a few connected phrases and in Column II almost complete discourse. It may be translated thus:

(12) "For, when the great god Hephaestus [Ptah of Memphis] . . . and the Girdle-wearers [Syrians?] . . . themselves . . . [it] shall be afflicted and he will visit with vengeance the whole (?) . . . (15) wrath and having overthrown many of them . . . and the hated king from Syria shall seize . . . and from . . . he himself of the unholy ones into Egypt and . . . later it shall be desolated . . . (20) . . . children . . . bur[ied] . . . [fe]w of the inhabitants of Egypt shall be left . . . they shall surrender (?) . . . their own evil plight shall be less than that of the former . . . [there follows an hiatus in which apparently the transition is made from times of evil to good] . . . (29) shall tread under foot the city of the Girdle-wearers . . . (30) . . . shall be founded . . . [the king] who is friend to all will appear . . . the city of the Girdle-wearers shall be desolated . . . [shall burn like] a furnace because of the lawless deeds they have committed against Egypt. (Col. II.) And the sacred objects which had been carried away thither shall be restored. And the city by the sea shall be a place where fishermen dry [their nets] ⁷⁹ because Agathos Daimon and Knephis will go to Memphis; so that some who pass through will say: 'This city was the nourisher of all, (5) in which every race of men dwelt.' ⁸⁰ And then Egypt shall [blossom forth] when the king who for fifty-five years rules bounteously, the giver of good things, shall appear from the Sun, established by the most great goddess Isis, so that those who survive will pray that those who have died may arise to share the (10) good things. And at the end of those things the leaves shall fall and the empty Nile shall be filled, and the bare and inharmonious winter shall run its cycle, and then the summer shall run its own course. And the winds . . . shall be well ordered and the breezes shall be mild. For in the time of the Typhonians ⁸¹ the sun was darkened, (15) but it will shine forth exhibiting the punishment of the wicked and the poverty of the Girdle-wearers. And Egypt." And having declared his revelations thus far, he breathed his last. And King Amenophis, thrown into no small unhappiness by what he had announced, buried the potter, laying him away in Heliopolis, but the book he placed in his sacred treasure chambers and showed it freely to all men.

The Apology of the Potter before Amenophis
the king, concerning the things that shall
come to pass in Egypt, translated as care-
fully as possible.⁸²

⁷⁹ See Ezek. 26, 5; 14, *ψυγμός σαγηνῶν*, LXX; Wilcken, *Hermes*, 40, p. 552.

⁸⁰ Alexandria is meant. As a Greek city it must disappear and its glory return to Memphis, the city of the sun-god Re, who is to send the new king.

⁸¹ The enemies are worshippers of Set. Cf. Neferrohu, above, p. 385.

⁸² The order of the phrases in the subscription is peculiar. It runs,

ἀπ(ο)λογία κεραμέως μεθηρμενευμένη
πρ(δ)ς Ἀμενώπιν τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὸ
(δυνα)τὸν περὶ τῶν (τ)ῇ Αἰγύπτῳ μελλόν-
(των)

Wilcken has abandoned his former hypothesis that the fragment refers to the Manethonian "exodus of the impure."⁸³ If the final decipherment of the papyrus establishes his readings, he has decisively disproved Reitzenstein's interpretations of the details of this 'prophecy.' It cannot be applied to definite historical events of Persian or Greek times. In particular, the description of the Golden Age that was to follow the times of evil is really a prediction of what the patriotic writer hoped would happen. He looked for a conqueror, and then a peaceful ruler under whose long reign the nation might prosper, much as the Hebrew imagination pictured the times of David and Solomon.

The novel note of importance in this apocalypse is its reference to a new cycle when the leaves shall fall, the empty Nile be filled, and winter and summer run their proper courses (II. 12-14). Whether the original was written before the new Sothis period of 1322-18 B.C. and therefore comes from near the time of the Amenhoteps, as Wilcken suggests, must be regarded as uncertain. But there is at least a strong probability that when it was put into its present form with its allusions to Alexandria, the next period, 139-143 A.D., was in the immediate future, and its anticipation awakened new hopes in the minds of patriotic Egyptians, to whom this event of the calendar meant so much. These lines, as already noted, serve to explain the otherwise enigmatic nine hundred years of the apocalypse of the Lamb.⁸⁴

As to the date of the composition of this little apocalypse, there is no decisive evidence. In its present form it must of course come from Greek times, as the evident allusion to Alexandria proves. It is not at all impossible that it may be the translation, as the peculiarly worded subscription implies, of a much earlier demotic or hieroglyphic document, with an anti-greek interpolation intended to bring it down to date.⁸⁵ It would certainly seem that there must have been some ancient tradition regarding an encounter of an Amenophis of the eight-

⁸³ Cf. Josephus, c. Ap. i. 227-250 (26). ⁸⁴ See above, p. 396; Wilcken, pp. 558 f.

⁸⁵ So Gressmann thinks possible, *Altort. Texte u. Bilder*, pp. 207 f., and also Wilcken, *loc. cit.*

eenth dynasty with a potter; else why should so unimportant an individual be made into a prophet?

Be that as it may, it is not a little startling to find in the third century after Christ such a document put into circulation. It is evidence of the extreme persistence of the traditional literary form of the apocalypse that a thoroughly nationalistic and anti-greek document should be written in the Greek language over two thousand years after the twelfth dynasty, and yet should manifest the point of view, the outline of thought, and even the most important motifs of the 'Vision of Neferrohu.' A change of circumstances has led to the elimination of one feature that bulks large in Neferrohu and Ipuwer. The late Egyptian apocalyptist can no longer regard the dispossession of the rich by the poor as an evil. No doubt the native Egyptians were for the most part poor and the Greeks were in positions of wealth and power. Therefore this idea ceases to make any popular appeal. In the prophecies of the Lamb and the Potter there enters a new idea, the recovery of sacred objects which had been carried away by invaders. It would seem to belong to post-assyrian times, since such spoliation first took place, so far as we know, under them.⁸⁶

Another Amenophis legend, which Josephus reproduces from Manetho, gives us a prediction of a somewhat different kind, yet presenting some analogies with those that have preceded. It is included in Manetho's account of the "exodus of the impure," by which he seeks to account for the origin of the Hebrews and the biblical exodus. King Amenophis wished to see the gods, so the story runs, as a predecessor of his had done, and applied to his namesake, Amenophis son of Papis, a famous seer and wise man. The latter informed him that he might have the beatific vision if he would clear the country of all lepers and other impure people. He did so, and sent them, some eighty thousand strong, to work with other criminals and exiles in the quarries east of the Nile. The seer also foresaw that

certain people would join forces with these polluted ones, conquer Egypt, and hold it for thirteen years. But not daring to say this to the king, he left

⁸⁶ Moret, *De Boc. rege*, p. 44; Wilcken, p. 552.

a writing concerning it all and committed suicide, leaving the king disconsolate.⁸⁷

Manetho then went on to relate how all this was fulfilled by an alliance between these outcasts under Osarsif (Moses) and the "shepherds" who had already been driven out of Egypt by Thutmose and had settled in Jerusalem. They drove Amenothis out of Egypt, and he took refuge with his followers and the images of his gods in Ethiopia for thirteen years, after which he returned with the sacred images and recaptured his land, expelling his enemies.

All that this legend has in common with the Egyptian apocalypses is the prediction of disaster followed by restoration through a king from the south. With the stories of the Lamb and the Potter it has also this in common, that the prophet dies in giving his message, as well as the feature that the sacred images are carried away and later restored, traits which belong to the three stories of prophets that come from the Greek period. No one of the distinctive features of this legend is paralleled in any Jewish legend or apocalypse.

The 'Dream of Nectanebo' is another papyrus document which is usually included in the apocalyptic, or prophetic, literature of Egypt. In this case the papyrus preserves the introduction, or dramatic framework, without the body of the work. The story begins that on the night of the full moon of Pharmouthi 21-22, in the sixteenth year of his reign (July 5-6, 343 B.C.), King Nectanebo had a dream in response to his prayers for a revelation of the future. He saw Onouris, or Ares, appear before Isis at her royal court and complain that Nectanebo, whom she had set to rule in Egypt, had neglected his temple and his ordinances, although he had done his part in protecting the land. The goddess answered nothing, but the king awoke greatly troubled and inquired in what particulars the temple of Onouris had been neglected. Finding that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of his sanctuary had not been completed, he sent for all the best engravers of Egypt and chose the one who according to common opinion was able to complete the work in the briefest time. He gave to Petesis,

⁸⁷ Josephus, c. Ap. i. 236 (26).

the chosen engraver, or hieroglyphist, a large sum of money with the order to proceed with all speed. But Petesis was fond of the cup, and went out to take a little pleasure before he began his hard task. As he was going, he met a beautiful woman. . . . And there the writing breaks off.⁸⁸

How did the story end? Was it simply a somewhat *risqué* tale, like that of Setne Khamuas and the hierodule? ⁸⁹ That is possible, but hardly probable. The first lines of the papyrus contain a title which runs, 'Of Petesis the Hieroglyphist, to Nectanebo the King.'⁹⁰ One would naturally complete the title with *ἀπολογία*, or some such word. The story should go that the trusted engraver failed to complete his task and that therefore the wrath of the gods came upon the land and the next year the king was driven into Ethiopia before the victorious Persians. Petesis' 'apology' might well have taken the form of the Potter's. As it stands, the only feature of the document which resembles the others we have studied is that the dream is evidently an omen of disaster.

One may question whether the 'Dream' was the product of the narrow Egyptian nationalism which is to be discovered in the 'Potter's Apology,' though it probably is a translation from an Egyptian original.⁹¹ The papyrus is to be dated in the second century B.C., and belongs to the same circle of *κάτοχοι* at the Serapeum in Memphis as the texts regarding the twins.⁹² Wilcken believes that the handwriting and certain

⁸⁸ Papyrus U of the Leiden Museum, purchased in 1829 from the collection of the Swedish consul Anastasy. It was first published by C. Leemans, *Papyri Graeci musaei antiquarii publici Lugduni Batavorum*, 1843, pp. 122-129. The best reconstruction of the text is that of Wilcken, *Mélanges Nicole*, Geneva, 1905, pp. 579-596. See the translation of Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 3d ed., 1905, pp. 254-258, 4th ed., pp. 306-310; *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, translated by Mrs. C. H. W. Johns, London, 1915, pp. 285-289. The scribe wrote but four lines on the fifth page of his manuscript, and amused himself by filling up the remainder with a comic figure of a man. Maspero, *Pop. Stories*, p. 285; *Contes pop.*, p. 254, 4th ed., pp. 306 f.

⁸⁹ F. L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, pp. 33-38, 121-135; Maspero, *Contes populaires*, 3d ed., pp. 120-126, cf. p. 257; *Popular Stories*, pp. 135-140, cf. p. 289.

⁹⁰ *Πετήσιος ἱερογλύφου πρὸς Νεκτοναβὼν τὸν βασιλέα.*

⁹¹ Maspero, *Contes pop.*, 4th ed., p. 307; *Pop. Stories*, pp. 285 f.

⁹² Wilcken, *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 580 f.; St. Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae graecae*, ed. 2, 1911, pp. 55-92.

peculiarities of orthography indicate that it was written by the same hand as columns 4-6 of Papyrus Didot.⁹³ The group were Macedonians who still occupied themselves with classical studies, although they were far from using their ancestral language with accuracy. Their religion was a varied mixture, part Greek, part Egyptian. It is an interesting fact that the data suit a night on which the moon was full.⁹⁴ The story, therefore, comes from a source that was accurately informed as to the last days of Nectanebo.

Two more Egyptian oracles remain to be noticed. One is the story of Mycerinus (Men-ku-re, fourth dynasty), preserved by Herodotus (ii. 133). The account runs as follows:

There came to him an oracle from the city of Buto saying that he was to live but six years more and die in the seventh year. He was indignant and sent to the oracle reproaching the god and saying that his father and his grandfather, though they had closed the temples and forgotten the gods but had destroyed men, had lived a long time. But he, who had been pious, was thus quickly to die. He received a reply from the oracle saying that on account of these same [good] deeds his life was cut short, for he had not done that which it was fated for him to do. For it was necessary that Egypt should suffer evil for one hundred and fifty years. The two who had been kings before him had known this, but he had not:

The account concludes with the record that Mycerinus accepted his judgment as inevitable, but ate and drank night and day in the attempt to prove the oracle false by crowding twelve years of pleasure into the six remaining to him.

Two conceptions meet us here that are already familiar: (1) the belief that, under normal circumstances, the gods reward those who serve them with long life and prosperity, and (2) the prediction of evil that is fated to come upon the land for a time, to be followed, we may suppose, by good. Otherwise this legend has little in common with Hebrew and Egyptian apocalypses.⁹⁵

To the legends of the fourth dynasty belongs also a story

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 594.

⁹⁴ J. G. Smyly, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V (1909), 417; Witkowski, *ibid.*, p. 573.

⁹⁵ Wilcken suggests that if this oracle may be supposed really to come from the time of the Old Kingdom, it may also refer to the next Sothis cycle, which began in 2783-2779 B.C., *Hermes*, 40, 560. Breasted dates Men-ku-re's death about 2774 B.C.

found in the Papyrus Westcar.⁹⁶ The magician and seer Dedi tells King Khufu that from Rededet, wife of a priest of Re, three sons were to be born who should become kings of Egypt. Seeing the sorrow of Khufu at this announcement of the fall of his own dynasty, the seer tells him that his son and grandson will reign before the new line comes to the throne. The tale then relates wonders that happened at the birth of these three divine children, how the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Meshenet, and Heket, and the god Khnum assisted at their birth, and breaks off in the midst of a further account of marvels that happened during their childhood. The names given the children are those of the first kings of the fifth dynasty. That the story is much later than that time is proved by the fact that, as in Herodotus, only two kings are supposed to follow Khufu in the fourth dynasty, the others, who left no great monuments, having been forgotten. However it is true to historical fact in assigning the overthrow of the fourth and the establishment of the fifth dynasty to the rise of the power of the priesthood of Re.⁹⁷ In some way connected with this religious and dynastic change is the story which we have just discussed of Mycerinus, who, according to Herodotus, was the grandson of Khufu (Cheops) and the last king of the fourth dynasty.

The prophecy of Dedi bears an interesting resemblance to that of Elijah against Ahab and his house,⁹⁸ for two sons of the Israelite king were allowed to reign after him before the prophet's maledictions were fulfilled, and his dynasty, which worshipped Baal, was overthrown by Jehu, who introduced the worship of Yahweh. Dedi's prophecy, however, lacks the note of moral and theological disapproval which marks the attitude of the Hebrew writers toward Ahab and his sons, and

⁹⁶ Published by Erman, with translation, 'Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar,' vols. V and VI of *Mitteilungen aus den orient. Sammlungen der kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1890, translated by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus der kgl. Museen*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 33 ff.; Maspero, *Contes populaires*, 3d ed., pp. 34-42, 4th ed., pp. 36-44; *Popular Stories*, pp. 35-42; Gressmann, *Alt. Texte u. Bilder*, pp. 221 ff. The papyrus was written about the beginning of the Hyksos period, ca. 1750 B.C., more than 1200 years after the time of Khufu; the tales some centuries earlier.

⁹⁷ Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1908, pp. 111 f.

⁹⁸ 1 Kgs. 21, 27 ff.

of Herodotus toward the fourth dynasty. Herodotus' legend, likewise, moves in a religious world which stands at the antipodes of that of the Hebrews.

V. THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPTIAN APOCALYPTIC

Whither has this long survey of Egyptian apocalyptic literature led us? A brief summary of our findings will show the legitimacy of certain inferences that must be drawn.

Archaeology and both Hebrew and Egyptian history and tradition point to the closest relations between the two lands throughout all their history. This was notably true in the period of the monarchy and in Greek times, when the Hebrew prophetic and apocalyptic literatures were being produced. Hebrew prophecy, moreover, originated in the south, where Egyptian influences were strongest. A comparison of the literatures of Egypt and Israel proves that they not only cherished closely similar points of view, but that in some cases, notably Ps. 104 and Prov. 22, 17-24, 22, there was direct borrowing on the part of Hebrew writers. In matters of ritual and theology there are more likenesses between the two peoples than has usually been admitted.

When we turn to the comparison of Hebrew and Egyptian apocalyptic literature, using the term in the widest possible sense, we discover as yet no evidence that any Hebrew prophet or apocalypstist borrowed directly from any piece of Egyptian literature. Yet there are remarkable similarities in both form and content. Even if one eliminate all details which may be thought to be the product of similar national experiences or of like social customs and economic conditions, the scheme of 'woe-and-weal eschatology,' if one may so paraphrase the German *Heils- und Unheilseschatologie*, the use of physical portents and disasters and of social disturbances, the bitter criticisms of society and the passion for what was thought to be social righteousness, and the expectation of the coming of a god-sent king exhibit such unique likenesses to Hebrew ideas that the probability can hardly be denied that the older Egyptian literature must have influenced the Hebrews. And if the

literature of Egypt did not itself affect the Hebrews, then the views it expressed must have passed from the one people to the other by word of mouth.

In the pre-exilic period something of the general character of Egyptian apocalyptic, as we see it in Ipuwer and Neferrohu, and something of the literature of social reform, as seen in the Eloquent Peasant, must have been known in Palestine. The social ideals of Egypt, so vigorously expressed in the literature and the tomb-inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom and the Empire, and the 'religion of the poor,' which appears in the days of the decline of Egypt's glory, could hardly have been locked up as impenetrable secrets from the men of later times, even though the magical element in Egyptian religion had rendered all the high thinking of her earlier years religiously barren and socially unfruitful. Popular eschatology in Israel and Egypt must have had much in common, in particular the almost universal gloom which sees the present as an evil age and the equally universal hope of a sudden and complete restoration of the happy prosperity of paradise under a great and good king whom the gods would select and send to save the people from their enemies and all the other misfortunes they suffered. Yahweh-worshippers in Israel added to the expectation common to the two nations the idea of the great 'day of Yahweh' and tricked it out with various embellishments drawn from Semitic mythology.⁹⁹ The popular expectation as to this wonderful transformation seems in both lands to have been thoroughly chauvinistic and practically unaffected by considerations of social righteousness. Is it not likely, indeed, that ancient Egyptian apocalyptic may be taken as in the main representing Hebrew eschatology as it was before the great writing prophets attempted to reinterpret and reconstruct it? These great preachers of social righteousness and ethical religion gathered unto themselves high ideals of the rights of the people, the character of the deity, and the obligation of the king, which had been common property in the Sumerian-Semitic world since the days of Uru-kagina, Gudea, and

⁹⁹ Gressmann, *Ursprung der isr.-jüd. Eschat.*, pp. 141-158; McCown, *Promise of His Coming*, pp. 31-59.

Hammurapi. They added to the popular expectation the tremendous social passion of their Egyptian colleagues, purifying and transforming Egyptian and Sumerian social standards by combining them with the simplicity and democracy of nomadic Yahwism. For the Hebrew prophets were the champions of the poor, as was perhaps Uru-kagina, but the Egyptian prophets never were. From the desert and from Babylonia on the one hand, from Egypt on the other, came the germs of that moral and religious elevation which characterizes the Hebrew prophets and distinguishes them from the Canaanite ecstatic oracle-mongers who disgraced popular Baalism. Though the Hebrews may not have been remarkable in inventiveness and originality, they showed a unique, almost supernatural, insight in their ability to select, develop, and propagate the best in the realm of morals and religion which their central position in the midst of the great civilizations of antiquity laid as tribute at their feet.

The hypothesis that Hebrew prophecy in pre-exilic times borrowed something of form and content from Egypt involves the reconstruction of the critical principles which, since Wellhausen, have prevailed in the study of the Old Testament prophets. One is almost forced to the position of Gunkel, Gressmann, Sellin, Steuernagel, Oesterley, and Knudson, to mention only a few of the new school, that, unless there is other unequivocal evidence of spuriousness, the 'hopeful,' or 'promising' passages in the early Hebrew prophets have just as good a right to be considered authentic as the threatening passages.¹⁰⁰ It is begging the question to say, as Hölscher does,¹⁰¹ that Egyptian influence is to be recognized only in post-exilic apocalyptic literature, since the scheme of weal following woe was unknown in pre-exilic prophecy. Egyptian apocalyptic literature makes it probable that this scheme was known. Likewise mere lack of order, or illogical arrangement, cannot be considered *prima-facie* evidence of interpolation or disarrangement of the original, for all Egyptian social literature (and especially apocalypses) is full of disorder and want of

¹⁰⁰ The position taken in my *Promise of His Coming*, pp. 81 ff.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 2.

logic. The Complaint of the Eloquent Peasant, for example, is marked by repeated sudden changes from hope to despair and back again.

As to post-exilic prophecy, one must notice that Ezekiel was not the first apocalypticist. The apocalyptic scheme had long been known and used. What Ezekiel did was to adopt much of the old popular eschatology, after the fall of Jerusalem, and to begin a process of formalizing it, of crystallizing it in certain of its features into a set and unalterable scheme of the universe which the later Jewish apocalypticists closely followed and developed into absurd unreality, whereas their pre-exilic predecessors had rejected it or handled it with much greater freedom and originality.¹⁰² The same process went on in Egypt also, and there can be little question of some connection between the point of view of the so-called 'Demotic Chronicle' and Daniel. Is there any significance in the fact that in both a double series of oracles covers in slightly varying fashion the same periods and events, or is that merely a coincidence? In any case the similarities in narrow nationalism, in *Weltanschauung*, in the conception of religion, especially with regard to the deity's relation to his worshippers and to a law given once for all by God as the revelation of the highest duty of man, are evidence that the same fundamental spirit was to be found in both nations as the basis of their apocalyptic.

As an example of an instructive likeness in literary technique one may take the peculiar pseudonymity of the later Jewish apocalypses. This practice was certainly already familiar to the Egyptians of the twelfth dynasty, for there can be no doubt that the 'predictions' of Neferrohu, ascribed to the days of the pyramid-builders, were actually composed under the king whom they celebrate, Amen-em-het I. There is every probability that some of the 'Admonitions' of which the Egyptian was so fond were also ascribed to worthies of previous ages, partly because they were of ancient origin, partly because they would thus receive greater reverence. Further examples are to be assumed in the late Egyptian apocalypses. It is likely that if we had the

¹⁰² Thus correcting slightly the views implicit in my *Promise of His Coming*, pp. 66, 80 f., and esp. p. 86; cf. Sellin, *Alttest. Prophetismus*, pp. 188 ff.

beginning of the 'Demotic Chronicle,' we should discover an ascription of the 'oracles' and their 'interpretations' to some worthy who lived just before the Persian conquest, for that is clearly the time when the writer wished his readers to suppose the work to have been written. The apocalypses of the Lamb under Bocchoris, of the Potter to Amenophis, of Amenophis the son of Papis to the king his namesake, and of Dedi to Khufu, all bear some indication of their pseudonymous character. The three in which the prophet dies just after delivering his oracle emphasize this trait.

The prophets of Israel's creative days needed no glamor of antiquity to enforce their message. They could speak in their own right. Those of the Jewish age of archaism and respect for the past were compelled to adopt what had been for nearly two millennia a well-known device of their Egyptian colleagues living in a similar atmosphere of antiquarianism. That they did it directly under the influence of Egyptian models one cannot claim. Rather it was probably a custom that was already widely prevalent in all the Nearer Orient. It is another trait of post-exilic apocalypticism which represents a retrogression to the lower ideals and standards which popular religion and eschatology in Israel shared with their non-jewish neighbors.

One must beware of forgetting that much that is similar in Egypt and Israel was due to analogous development under similar circumstances. In post-exilic times the Jews were laboring under the same depressing conditions of national bondage and economic prostration from which Egypt also suffered under the Assyrians and Persians. Magical conceptions of religion, likewise, which the prophets had boldly rejected for a thoroughly spiritual theology, formal or ritualistic priestly notions which the prophets had combatted in the interest of a moral faith, had made their way into Jewish official circles. The Jews were priest-ridden just as were the Egyptians. They were looking backward with an antiquarian interest that finds its parallels in Nabonidus and Psamtik I. Inevitably their literature reflects the similarity of their situation.

However, if one ceases to think of Egypt, Babylonia, and Judea as separate nations living in water-tight compartments,

and recognizes the fact that, particularly since their absorption into the great empire of Assyria, they were as much parts of one world as are America, England, and Europe to-day, one cannot but acknowledge the justness of the inference that the apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* and literary technique of one people must have influenced the others. Indeed they may have been common to all. The Jewish apocalyptists can hardly have been ignorant of the currents of thinking in the great centres of civilization to the southwest of them. The less highly developed civilization of Palestine borrowed in arts and crafts and probably also in literature and thought. Since the analogous religious and literary developments seem always to have been generations or even centuries earlier in Egypt than in Israel, the conclusion seems not unreasonable that the latter borrowed. Since, for example, the 'Demotic Chronicle' is probably earlier than the accepted date of Daniel, it is only reasonable to infer that the writer of Daniel owed something to the Egyptian school from which the 'Chronicle' came. More than that cannot as yet be concluded, for no evidence has been discovered to indicate copying on the part of a Jewish writer from Egyptian apocalypses.

Even if there were no reason to suppose that the literature of Israel had been influenced by that of Egypt, if the similar phenomena in the writings of the two peoples were thought to be only analogous developments under similar circumstances, the study of the parallels between Egyptian and Hebrew prophecy and apocalyptic would be most instructive. It has come to be an accepted principle of interpretation that the biblical apocalypses, Daniel, Revelation, and the rest, can be properly understood only when removed from their canonical isolation and placed alongside the numerous non-canonical documents of the same character. Likewise the mode of thought, the literary technique, and even details of expression in the Hebrew and Jewish apocalypses become more intelligible when considered in the light of their fellow-documents from Egypt. And the moral and religious genius of the great Hebrew and Jewish leaders, who could rise above the popular eschatology not only of their own fellow-countrymen but also of the whole civilized

world of which they were a part, and who could develop their unparalleled ethical and spiritual ideals in spite of, even by means of, so difficult and unpromising a medium as apocalyptic literature, stands more clearly revealed than before.

Still another consideration emphasizes the historical importance of Egyptian apocalyptic. It has been vigorously argued that there is a decided break between the apocalyptic thinking of primitive Jewish Christianity and the Catholic faith of the second century. The transition from the one to the other, and indeed the appeal of early apostolic apocalypticism to the Graeco-Roman world, has seemed inexplicable. The difficulty has been due to the preoccupation of the students of Hellenism with Greek philosophy and the literature of the upper classes. Many factors in the social evolution of early Christianity have become clear through recent studies in the popular life of the hellenistic world. The later Egyptian documents noticed above show that there was a widespread apocalyptic hope in Egypt during the period when Greek-speaking Judaism was translating the Septuagint and writing the Sibylline oracles. In this Egyptian apocalypticism is to be found one of the points of contact first between Judaism and the Gentile public and later between Christianity and its hellenistic environment. As Vergil's Fourth Eclogue suggests, the apocalyptic hope was not entirely strange in the Roman Empire. Egyptian apocalypticism is another item which assists in demonstrating that, with all their peculiarities and their moral and religious superiority, the Jews and Christians did not bring to the world an absolutely new Gospel, but one for which the people at large had been prepared in many and various ways. The naturalness and inevitableness of the process by which the new religion spread and developed become clearer also through the study of Egyptian apocalyptic literature.

